Greek and Latin Authors on Jews and Judaism

III

Appendixes and Indexes

Greek and Latin Authors on Jews and Judaism

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Greek and Latin Authors on Jews and Judaism

Volume Three

APPENDIXES AND INDEXES

GREEK AND LATIN AUTHORS ON JEWS AND JUDAISM

Edited with Introductions, Translations

and Commentary

by

MENAHEM STERN

Volume Three

APPENDIXES AND INDEXES

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PREFACE

AS ALREADY STATED in the preface to Volume II, the Appendix included in Volume III comprises both problematical texts and those which, according to the strict criteria established in the preface to Volume I, were not published in the first two volumes. For sake of completeness, I have added passages from legal writers.[1] An index of sources and select indexes of subjects and of Greek words and phrases follow.

I wish to express my thanks to Mrs Yvonne Glikson of the staff of the Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities for her devoted assistance in preparing the volume and seeing it through press. I also wish to express my debts to Mr J. Elron for proof-reading the English and Latin, and to the Ben-Zvi Printing Enterprises Press.

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Menahem Stern

The Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 1984

1 A corpus of Roman Imperial Legislation on the Jews has recently been edited by Dr A. Linder and published by the Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities, Jerusalem 1983.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AASOR	*Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research*
Abel	F.M. Abel, *Géographie de la Palestine*, I–II, Paris 1933–1938
AJA	*American Journal of Archeology*
AJP	*American Journal of Philology*
Alt	A. Alt, *Kleine Schriften zur Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, I–III, Munich 1953–1959
Avi-Yonah	M. Avi-Yonah, *The Holy Land from the Persian to the Arab Conquests (536 B.C. to A.D. 640), Historical Geography*, Grand Rapids, Michigan 1966
BASOR	*Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research*
Bengtson	H. Bengtson, *Die Strategie in der hellenistischen Zeit*, I–III, Munich 1937–1952
Bernays	J. Bernays, *Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, I–II, Berlin 1885
BGU	*Aegyptische Urkunden aus den Königlichen Museen zu Berlin. Griechische Urkunden*, Berlin 1895→
Bidez & Cumont	J. Bidez & F. Cumont, *Les mages hellénisés*, I–II, Paris 1938
BIFAO	*Bulletin de l'institut français d'archéologie orientale*
Böhl	F.M.T. de Liagre Böhl, *Opera Minora*, Groningen–Djakarta 1953
CAH	*The Cambridge Ancient History*, I–XII, Cambridge 1923–1939
CCSL	*Corpus Christianorum, Series Latina*
Cichorius	C. Cichorius, *Römische Studien*, Leipzig–Berlin 1922
CII	J. B. Frey, *Corpus Inscriptionum Iudaicarum*, I–II, Rome–Paris 1936–1952
CIL	*Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*
CPJ	V.A. Tcherikover, A. Fuks & M. Stern, *Corpus Papyrorum Judaicarum*, I–III, Cambridge (Mass.) 1957–1964
CQ	*The Classical Quarterly*
CRAI	*Comptes rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres*
Cramer	F.H. Cramer, *Astrology in Roman Law and Politics*, Philadelphia 1954
CSEL	*Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum*
Derenbourg	J. Derenbourg, *Essai sur l'histoire et la géographie de la Palestine*, Paris 1867

F. Gr. Hist.	F. Jacoby, *Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker*, Berlin–Leiden 1923→
FHG	C. & T. Müller, *Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum*, I–V
Fraser	P.M. Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria*, I–III, Oxford 1972
Freudenthal	J. Freudenthal, *Hellenistische Studien*, I–II, *Alexander Polyhistor und die von ihm erhaltenen Reste jüdischer und samaritanischer Geschichtswerke*, Breslau 1874–1875
Friedländer	L. Friedländer, *Dartstellungen aus der Sittengeschichte Roms in der Zeit von Augustus bis zum Ausgang der Antonine*, Leipzig I–II, 1922; III, 1923; IV, 1921
Gabba	E. Gabba, *Iscrizioni greche e latine per lo studio della Bibbia*, Turin 1958
Gager	J.G. Gager, *Moses in Greco-Roman Paganism*, Nashville 1972
Geyer	P. Geyer, *Itinera Hierosolymitana Saeculi IIII–VIII*, Prague–Vienna–Leipzig 1898
Ginzberg	L. Ginzberg, *The Legends of the Jews*, I–VII, Philadelphia 1925–1938
Goodenough	E.R. Goodenough, *Jewish Symbols in the Greco-Roman Period*, I–XII, New York 1953–1965
Gutschmid	A. v. Gutschmid, *Kleine Schriften*, I–V, Leipzig 1889–1894
Harnack	A. v. Harnack, *Die Mission und Ausbreitung des Christentums*, I–II⁴, Leipzig 1924
Hengel	M. Hengel, *Judentum und Hellenismus — Studien zu ihrer Begegnung unter besonderer Berücksichtigung Palästinas bis zur Mitte des 2 Jh. v. Chr.*, Tübingen 1969
HTR	*The Harvard Theological Review*
HUCA	*Hebrew Union College Annual*
IEJ	*Israel Exploration Journal*
IG	*Inscriptiones Graecae*
IGLS	*Inscriptions grecques et latines de la Syrie*, I–VII, ed. L. Jalabert, R. Mouterde, C. Mondésert, & J.P. Rey-Coquais, Paris 1929–1970
IGRR	*Inscriptiones Graecae ad Res Romanas Pertinentes*, I, Paris 1911; III, 1906; IV, 1927
ILS	H. Dessau, *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae*, I–III, Berlin 1892–1916
JAOS	*Journal of the American Oriental Society*
JBL	*Journal of Biblical Literature*
JEA	*The Journal of Egyptian Archeology*
Jeremias	J. Jeremias, *Jerusalem zur Zeit Jesu*³, Göttingen 1962
JHS	*The Journal of Hellenic Studies*

JNES	*Journal of Near Eastern Studies*
JQR	*The Jewish Quarterly Review*
JR	*Journal of Religion*
JRS	*The Journal of Roman Studies*
JTS	*The Journal of Theological Studies*
Juster	J. Juster, *Les Juifs dans l'empire Romain*, I–II, Paris 1914
Kahrstedt	U. Kahrstedt, *Syrische Territorien in hellenistischer Zeit*, Berlin 1926
LCL	The Loeb Classical Library, Cambridge (Mass.) – London
Leon	H.J. Leon, *The Jews of Ancient Rome*, Philadelphia 1960
Lifshitz	B. Lifshitz, *Donateurs et fondateurs dans les synagogues juives*, Paris 1967
Linsenmayer	A. Linsenmayer, *Die Bekämpfung des Christentums durch den römischen Staat bis zum Tode des Kaisers Julian (363)*, Munich 1905
Ed. Meyer	E. Meyer, *Ursprung und Anfänge des Christentums*, I–III, Stuttgart–Berlin 1921–1923
MGWJ	*Monatsschrift für Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judentums*
Momigliano	A. Momigliano, *Ricerche sull'organizzazione della Giudea sotto il dominio romano (Annali della R. Scuola Normale Superiore de Pisa)*, Series II, Vol. III (1934)
Moore	G.F. Moore, *Judaism in the First Centuries of the Christian Era*, I–II, Cambridge (Mass.) 1927–1930
Müller	J.G. Müller, *Des Flavius Josephus Schrift gegen den Apion*, Basel 1877
Nicols	J. Nicols, *Vespasian and the* Partes Flavianae, Wiesbaden 1978
Niese	B. Niese, *Geschichte der griechischen und makedonischen Staaten seit der Schlacht bei Chaeronea*, I–III, Gotha 1893–1903
NNM	*Numismatic Notes and Monographs*
Nock	A.D. Nock, *Essays on Religion and the Ancient World*, I–II, Oxford 1972
Norden	E. Norden, *Kleine Schriften zum klassichen Altertum*, Berlin 1966
NTS	*New Testament Studies*
OGIS	W. Dittenberger, *Orientis Graeci Inscriptiones Selectae*, I–II, Leipzig 1903–1905
Otto	W. Otto, *Herodes — Beiträge zur Geschichte des letzten jüdischen Königshauses*, Stuttgart 1913
PAAJR	*Proceedings of the American Academy for Jewish Research*

P. Columbia Zenon	W.L. Westermann et al., *Zenon Papyri — Business Papers in the Third Century B.C. dealing with Palestine and Egypt* (*Columbia Papyri, Greek Series*, Nos. 3–4), I–II, New York 1934–1940
PCZ	C.C. Edgar, *Zenon Papyri*, I–IV, Cairo 1925–1931
PEQ	*Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly Statement*
PG	*Patrologia Graeca*
PIR^2	*Prosopographia Imperii Romani Saeculi I. II. III*, editio altera, Berlin–Leipzig 1933→
PJB	*Palästinajahrbuch*
PL	*Patrologia Latina*→
P. Lond.	*Greek Papyri in the British Museum*, London 1893→
PLRE	A.H.M. Jones, J.R. Martindale & J. Morris, *The Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire*, I, Cambridge 1971
P. Oslo	*Papyri Osloenses*, I–III, Oslo 1925–1936
P. Oxy.	*The Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, London 1898→
P. Rylands	*Catalogue of the Greek (and Latin) Papyri in the John Rylands Library*, I–IV, Manchester 1911–1952
PSI	Papiri greci e latini — *Pubblicazioni della Società italiana per la ricerca dei Papiri greci e latini in Egitto*, Florence 1912→
P. Tebtunis	*The Tebtunis Papyri*, I–III, London–New York–California 1902→
PW	Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encyclopädie der classichen Altertumswissenschaft*, Stuttgart 1893→
QDAP	*The Quarterly of the Department of Antiquities in Palestine*
R	T. Reinach, *Textes d'auteurs grecs et romains relatifs au Judaïsme*, Paris 1895
Radin	M. Radin, *The Jews among the Greeks and Romans*, Philadelphia 1915
RB	*Revue biblique*
REA	*Revue des études anciennes*
REG	*Revue des études grecques*
Reinach (Budé)	Flavius Josèphe, Contra Apion, texte établi et annoté par T. Reinach, Collection de l'Association Guillaume Budé, Paris 1930
REJ	*Revue des études juives*
REL	*Revue des études latines*
RFIC	*Rivista di Filologia e di Istruzione Classica*
Rhein. Museum	Rheinisches Museum für Philologie
RHR	*Revue de l'histoire des religions*
RIDA	*Revue internationale des droits de l'antiquité*
Saxer	R. Saxer, *Untersuchungen zu den Vexillationen des römischen Kaiserheeres* (=*Epigraphische Studien*, I), Köln–Graz 1967

Schanz & Hosius	M. Schanz & C. Hosius, *Geschichte der römischen Literatur*, I–II[4], Munich 1927–1935
Schmid & Stählin, II	*Wilhelm von Christs Geschichte der griechischen Litteratur*, sechste Auflage unter Mitwirkung von O. Stählin bearbeitet von Wilhelm Schmid, Part II, Munich 1920–1924
Schürer	E. Schürer, *Geschichte des jüdischen Volkes im Zeitalter Jesu Christi*, I–III, Leipzig 1901–1909
Schürer, ed. Vermes & Millar	*The History of the Jewish People in the Age of Jesus Christ (175 B.C.–A.D. 135) by Emil Schürer*, new English version revised and edited by Geza Vermes & Fergus Millar, I, Edinburgh 1973
SEG	*Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum*, Leiden 1923→
SEHHW	M. Rostovtzeff, *Social and Economic History of the Hellenistic World*, I–III, Oxford 1953
Sevenster	J.N. Sevenster, *The Roots of Pagan Anti-Semitism in the Ancient World*, Leiden 1975
Simon	M. Simon, *Verus Israel — Étude sur les relations entre Chrétiens et Juifs sous l'empire romain (135–425)*, Paris 1964
Smallwood	E.M. Smallwood, *The Jews under Roman Rule*, Leiden 1976
Stähelin	F. Stähelin, *Der Antisemitismus des Altertums*, Basel 1905
Strack & Billerbeck	H.L. Strack, P. Billerbeck & J. Jeremias, *Kommentar zum Neuen Testament aus Talmud und Midrasch*, I–IV, Munich 1922–1961
Susemihl	F. Susemihl, *Geschichte der griechischen Litteratur in der Alexandrinerzeit*, I–II, Leipzig 1891–1892
SVF	J.[H.]de Arnim, *Stoicorum Veterum Fragmenta*, I–IV, Leipzig 1903–1924
Sylloge	W. Dittenberger, *Sylloge Inscriptionum Graecarum*, I–IV, Leipzig 1915–1924
Syme	R. Syme, *Tacitus*, I–II, Oxford 1958
TAPA	*Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association*
Tcherikover	V. Tcherikover, *Hellenistic Civilization and the Jews*, Philadelphia 1959
Weber	W. Weber, *Josephus und Vespasian*, Berlin–Stuttgart–Leipzig 1921
YCS	*Yale Classical Studies*
ZAW	*Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*
ZDMG	*Zeitschrift der Deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft*
ZDPV	*Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästinavereins*
ZNTW	*Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft*
ZPE	*Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik*

APPENDIX I

I. ALCAEUS

End of the seventh century B.C.E.

The first certain reference to any place in Palestine found in classical Greek literature is from the writings of the poet Alcaeus. This is included in a mutilated fragment from a second-century C.E. papyrus from Oxyrhynchus, which mentions the Philistine city of Ashkelon (No. 556, l. 11). In the preceding line appears the name of "sacred Babylon". The papyrus is in too poor a condition to enable us to know the exact contents of the poem. However it clearly contains an allusion to military operations by the Babylonian army against Ashkelon, presumably resulting in the capture of the city and slaughter of its inhabitants.

The Babylonian and Jewish sources contain a considerable amount of information about the campaigns waged by Nebuchadrezzar king of Babylon at the end of the seventh century against Egypt and its Syrian allies. The great victory of the Babylonians over the Egyptians at Carchemish in 605 B.C.E. made possible the advance of Nebuchadrezzar into Syria and Palestine in the direction of Egypt. In 604 B.C.E. the documents expressly mention Nebuchadrezzar's march against Ashkelon, which was captured in Kislev (c. *December) and destroyed by the conquerors. Thus we read in the* Babylonian Chronicle: *"In the first year of Nebuchadrezzar in the month of Sivan he mustered his army and went to the Hatti-territory (i.e. Syria and Palestine), he marched about unopposed in the Hatti-territory until the month of Kislev. All the kings of the Hatti-land came before him and he received their heavy tribute. He marched to the city of Askelon and captured it in the month of Kislev. He captured its king and plundered it and carried off [spoil from it...] He turned the city into a mound and heaps of ruins and then in the month of Sebat he marched back to Babylon."*[1]

1 See D.J. Wiseman, *Chronicles of Chaldaean Kings (626–556 B.C.) in the British Museum*, London 1956, p. 69. Concerning the reading of the name, see p. 85. Cf. the commentary to Berossus, apud: Josephus, *Contra Apionem*, I, 136 (No. 17).

Appendix I

The capture of Ashkelon seems to be reflected in the warning to Jeremiah (Jer. xlvii:5–7), and in the passage concerning the fast of the ninth month proclaimed at Jerusalem in the fifth year of King Jehoiakim (Jer. xxxvi:9 ff.).[2]

One should perhaps also connect with Ashkelon a papyrus from Saqqara, comprising a letter addressed to Pharaoh from Adon, king of one of the Palestinian cities, asking urgently for help against the advancing Babylonians.[3] *In that case the letter should be dated before the capture of Ashkelon at the end of 604 B. C. E. Captives from the city at the court of Nebuchadrezzar, and even the sons of Aga king of Ashkelon, are mentioned in a Babylonian document of* c. *592 B. C. E.*[4]

The fragment of the poem of Alcaeus probably refers to his brother Antimenidas, who, as already known from another poem by Alcaeus, took service with the Babylonians.[5] *Antimenidas evidently took part in the capture of Ashkelon. His return from service abroad to his native Lesbos may have offered the occasion for this poem.*[6] *In the former poem*[7] *we read that Antimenidas has come from the ends of the earth, with his sword-hilt of ivory bound with gold, and that fighting beside the Babylonians he accomplished a great feat and delivered them from distress, for he slew a warrior who wanted one palm's breadth to reach the height of five royal cubits:*

ἦλθες ἐκ περάτων γᾶς ἐλεφαντίναν
λάβαν τὼ ξίφεος χρυσοδέταν ἔχων ...
τὸν ἀδελφὸν Ἀντιμενίδαν ... φησιν Ἀλκαῖος Βαβυλωνίοις
συμμαχοῦντα τελέσαι[8]

2 See A. Malamat, *IEJ*, VI (1956), pp. 251 f.; idem, *Supplements to Vetus Testamentum*, XXVIII, Congress Volume, Edinburgh 1974–Leiden 1975, pp. 130 f.

3 The papyrus was first published by A. Dupont-Sommer, *Semitica*, I (1948), pp. 43 ff.; see H.L. Ginsberg, *BASOR*, CXI (1948), pp. 24 ff.; R. Meyer, in: *Festschrift für Friedrich Zucker*, Berlin 1954, pp. 251 ff. Against any connection of Adon with Ashkelon, see W.H. Shea, *BASOR*, CCXXIII (1976), pp. 61 ff. See also B. Porten, *Biblical Archaeologist*, XLIV (1981), pp. 36 ff.

4 See E.F. Weidner, in: *Mélanges Dussaud*, II, Paris 1939, p. 928.

5 Alcaeus, in: *Poetarum Lesbiorum Fragmenta*, F350, Z27 (ed. Lobel & Page, p. 272) = E.M. Voigt, *Sappho et Alcaeus*, Amsterdam 1971, p. 319.

6 See J.D. Quinn, *BASOR*, 164 (1961), pp. 19 f.

7 See supra, n. 5. This poem is quoted by Strabo, *Geographica*, XIII, 2:3, p. 617; cf. Hephaestion, *Enchiridion*, X, 3 (ed. Consbruch, p. 33); Libanius, *Orationes*, XIII, 5.

8 Bowra restored here from Strabo: συμμάχεις δ' ἐτέλεσσας

ἄεθλον μέγαν, εὐρύσαο δ' ἐκ πόνων,
κτέννηις ἄνδρα μαχαίταν βασιλήιων
παλάσταν ἀπυλείποντα μόναν ἴαν
παχέων ἀπὺ πέμπων ...

The campaign of 604, with the capture of Ashkelon, in which Antimenidas presumably took part, evidently did not entail any serious military operations against Judaea.[9] *Thus there is no reason to assume that the giant killed here by Antimenidas was a Jew, or that the poem refers to the part taken by Antimenidas in one of the Babylonian campaigns against Jerusalem, either in 598–597 B.C.E. or in the last siege in the times of Zedekiah, and the poem may allude either to the siege of Ashkelon or to any other of the battles and sieges occurring in the times of Nebuchadrezzar.*[10]

Βαβυλωνίοισ' ἄεθλον; see C.M. Bowra, *Greek Lyric Poetry from Alcman to Simonides*², Oxford 1961, p. 139.

9 For the events of that year, see Wiseman, *op. cit.* (supra, n. 1), p. 28. Jehoiakim did not revolt until 601 B.C.E.

10 The date 604 B.C.E. for the capture of Ashkelon and the sojourn of Antimenidas in Palestine has not been taken into account by D. Page, *Sappho and Alcaeus*, Oxford 1955, p. 224. Page published his book a year before the publication of the Babylonian chronicle by Wiseman, *op. cit.* (supra, n. 1). There were many occasions during the variegated campaigns of Nebuchadrezzar with which the feat of Antimenidas may be connected; see S. Mazzarino, *Athenaeum*, XXI (1943), pp. 76 f. The conjecture that Antimenidas took part in the siege of Jerusalem is based on a rather doubtful supposition that Jerusalem is mentioned in a fragmentary papyrus of Alcaeus; cf. *Poetarum Lesbiorum Fragmenta*, F59, D I(b) (ed. Lobel & Page, p. 138) = *P. Oxy.*, XI, No. 1360, F13:

]ν
]α^ν ιεροσυ[
]ων
]ιαν

The fragment was interpreted as relating to Jerusalem by Diehl, who thought that ἄνδρα μαχαίταν in the fragment adduced by Strabo meant one of the companions of the Jewish kings; see E. Diehl (ed.), *Anthologia Lyrica*, I², fasc. 4, p. 226. It has also been suggested, on the basis of Lysimachus, apud: Josephus, *Contra Apionem*, I, 311 (No. 158), that there were different transcriptions of Jerusalem (thus Ἱεροσύλυμα and not only Ἱεροσόλυμα), and that it is possible to restore the papyrus accordingly; see S. Luria, *Acta Antiqua*, VIII (1960), pp. 265 f. However, the only evidence for this is an etymological joke with anti-Semitic undertones; see A. Momigliano, *Alien Wisdom*, Cambridge 1975, pp. 77 f.

Appendix I

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Carminum Fragmenta, F48, B16 — E. Lobel & D. Page, *Poetarum Lesbiorum Fragmenta*, Oxford 1955, p. 134 = *P. Oxy.*, X, No. 1233, F11, ll. 5–18 = D. L. Page, *Lyrica Graeca Selecta*, Oxford 1968, No. 114 = E. M. Voigt, *Sappho et Alcaeus*, Amsterdam 1971, pp. 197 f.

]..[.] ωμαν
].αν θάλασσαν
]τ̣ω φέρεσθαι·
]κ̣' ὧν φέροιτο
]α κατάγρει
]Βαβύλωνος ἴρας
]ν 'Ασκάλωνα
κρ]ύοεντ' ἐγέρρην
]ν κὰτ ἄκρας.
]τε κἄσλον
]ς 'Αίδαο δῶμα.
]λω νόησθαι
στ]εφανώματ' ἄμμι
]ταῦτα πάντα

II. CHOERILUS OF SAMOS

Second half of the fifth century B.C.E.

Choerilus of Samos, who wrote an epic poem dealing with the Persian Wars, included in it, after the manner of Herodotus, a catalogue of nations from all the countries of the Persian empire who took part in the expedition of Xerxes against Greece.[1] *A passage from Choerilus' description of these nations is quoted as evidence of the glory of the Jewish people by Josephus (or rather by his predecessors among Hellenistic Jewry) in* Contra Apionem, *I, 172–173 (No. 557).*[2] *This describes a race of wonderful aspect who speak a Phoenician language and have their habitation near a broad lake. To Josephus it is obvious that Choerilus refers here to Jews because he alludes to the "Solymian mountains", which Josephus identifies with the mountains of Judaea on the basis of the equation between Solyma and Hierosolyma, and the "broad lake" with the Asphaltite Lake, which, Josephus states, is broader and more extensive than all the lakes of Syria; see* Contra Apionem, *I, 174:* δῆλον οὖν ἐστιν, ὡς οἶμαι, πᾶσιν ἡμῶν αὐτὸν μεμνῆσθαι, τῷ καὶ τὰ Σόλυμα ὄρη ἐν τῇ ἡμετέρᾳ εἶναι χώρᾳ, ἃ κατοικοῦμεν, καὶ τὴν Ασφαλτῖτιν λεγομένην λίμνην· αὕτη γὰρ πασῶν τῶν ἐν τῇ Συρίᾳ λίμνη πλατυτέρα καὶ μείζων καθέστηκεν. *Josephus had already stated in* Antiquities *that the original name of Jerusalem was Solyma, which is a close adaptation of* שלם; *cf. Gen. xiv:18;* Ant., *VII, 67. The name Solyma for Hierosolyma appears in the quotation from Manetho, apud: Josephus,* Contra Apionem, *I, 248 (No. 21):* οἱ δὲ Σολυμῖται, *and in works of Latin writers of the Flavian age; cf. Valerius Flaccus,* Argonautica, *I, 13 (No. 226): "Solymo nigrantem pulvere"; Martialis, VII, 55 (No. 242): "de Solymis venit perustis";* ibid., *XI, 94 (No. 245): "Solymis quod natus in ipsis".*
Since the Solymian mountains are mentioned in the Odyssey

1 The works of Choerilus included *Βαρβαρικά· Μηδικά· Περσ[ικά]*, according to *P. Oxy.*, XI, No. 1399 = *F. Gr. Hist.*, III, C696, F33d (second or early third century C.E.).

2 For some doubts as to whether the identification of the "Solymi" with Jews (also referred to by Tacitus) originated from a Jewish source, see E.J. Bickerman, *Classical Philology*, XLVII (1952), p. 79, n. 32.

(Odyssea, *V, 283*), *and a people called Solymi in the* Iliad (Ilias, *VI, 184*), *it is only reasonable to explain that these Homeric reminiscences gave rise to the equation of the name Solyma with Jerusalem. Thus Tacitus also interprets the supposed connection between the name of the Solymi, a people celebrated in Homeric poems, and that of the Jews as implying an illustrious ancestry for the Jews; see Tacitus,* Historiae, *V, 2:3* (*No. 281*).

It is hardly likely, however, that the fifth-century Samian poet Choerilus had identified the Homeric Solymian mountains with the hills of Judaea. The Homeric passages could only inspire a Jew to interpret them in this way. Moreover, Herodotus, whose narrative influenced the catalogue of Choerilus, described in a somewhat similar manner the eastern Ethiopians (*Herodotus, VII, 70*). *Also the hair on the heads of the warriors described by Choerilus is said to be shorn in a circle, a practice expressly forbidden to Jews* (*Lev. xix:27*). *In such a catalogue of nations the natural place for the Jews, if they had taken part in the campaign, would have been among the Syrians of Palestine* (*Herodotus, VII, 89*).[3]

The identity of the people Choerilus really had in mind in his description remains an open question. One possibility is that he means here the Milyans and Pisidians.[4] *In this case we are left with the difficulty of accounting for the statement that these people spoke the Phoenician language. Another and preferable choice are the eastern Ethiopians of Herodotus.*[5]

3 Until recently the only scholar to defend Josephus' interpretation that Choerilus is referring to Jews is F. Dornseiff, *Echtheitsfragen antik-griechischer Literatur*, Berlin 1939, pp. 66 f. For the view that although this interpretation is not acceptable it may still be possible that the "Broad Lake" is the Dead Sea, see I. Lévy, *Latomus*, V (1946), pp. 335 f. Now an argument has been adduced that the "Broad Lake" is identical with the Dead Sea and that the inhabitants living around it are Jews because πλατύ may have the meaning of ἁλμυρόν; see P. R. Colace, *RFIC*, CIV (1976), pp. 15 ff.

4 It is stated by Herodotus (I, 173) that the Milyans were once called "Solymi". We read of a mount Solymus in Pisidia, and of the inhabitants of Termessus called Solymi, in Strabo, *Geographica*, XIII, 4:16, p. 630.

5 See Lévy, *op. cit.* (supra, n. 3), pp. 336 ff.; G. Huxley, *Greek-Roman and Byzantine Studies*, X (1969), pp. 19 f.; A. Momigliano, *Alien Wisdom*, Cambridge 1975, p. 77. The statement that this people spoke the Phoenician language may be explained by the view that the Phoenicians originally hailed from the shores of the Persian Gulf; cf. Herodotus, I, 1; VII, 89; Strabo, *Geographica*, XVI, 4:27, p. 784.

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apud: Josephus, *Contra Apionem*, I, 172–173—Niese = F3R = G. Kinkel, *Epicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, I, Leipzig 1877, p. 268, No. 4 = *F. Gr. Hist.*, III, C696, F34e = Reinach (Budé), p. 33 = P. R. Colace, *Choerili Samii Reliquiae*, Rome (n.d.), F. 4

(172) Καὶ Χοιρίλος δὲ ἀρχαιότερος γενόμενος ποιητὴς μέμνηται τοῦ ἔθνους ἡμῶν, ὅτι συνεστράτευται Ξέρξῃ τῷ Περσῶν βασιλεῖ ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα· καταριθμησάμενος γὰρ πάντα τὰ ἔθνη τελευταῖον καὶ τὸ ἡμέτερον ἐνέταξε λέγων·

(173) τῶν δ' ὄπιθεν διέβαινε γένος θαυμαστὸν ἰδέσθαι,
γλῶσσαν μὲν Φοίνισσαν ἀπὸ στομάτων ἀφιέντες,
ᾤκεον δ' ἐν Σολύμοις ὄρεσι πλατέῃ παρὰ λίμνῃ
αὐχμαλέοι κορυφὰς τροχοκουράδες, αὐτὰρ ὕπερθεν
ἵππων δαρτὰ πρόσωπ' ἐφόρουν ἐσκληκότα καπνῷ.

1 ἀρχαιότερος] ἀρχαῖος Eus. *antiquus* Lat 2 συνεστράτευσαν Eus. 5 τῶν Eus. τῷ L 7 ᾤκεον (vel ᾤκουν) Eus. ᾤκεε L / παρὰ Eus. ἐνὶ L ἐπὶ Niese 8 κορυφὰς] κεφαλὰς Eus. / τροχοκουράδες Eus. τροχοκούριδες L

(172) Again, Choirilus, an ancient poet, mentions our race as taking part in the expedition of Xerxes, king of Persia, against Greece. After enumerating all the other nations, he finally includes ours in these lines:

(173) Closely behind passed over a race of wonderful aspect;
Strangely upon their lips the tongue of Phoenicia sounded;
In the Solymian hills by a broad lake their habitation;
Shorn in a circle, unkempt was the hair on their heads, and above them
Proudly they wore their hides of horse-heads, dried in the hearth-smoke.

(trans. H. St. J. Thackeray, *LCL*)

III. PSEUDO-SCYLAX

Fourth century B.C.E.

The Periplus *attributed to Scylax of Carian Caryanda, a contemporary of Darius I* (c. *500 B.C.E.*), *was compiled much later, in the fourth century B.C.E.*[1] *True to its purpose as a kind of nautical handbook, the* Periplus *refers only to the coasts of the places enumerated and gives the distances by stadia, even if drawing upon literary sources.*[2] *After surveying the coasts of Cilicia and Cyprus it reviews the Syrian, Phoenician and Palestinian coasts.*

Since we are dependent for our text of Pseudo-Scylax on a single mutilated manuscript (*Cod. Parisinus 443*), *we are often left to conjecture about what was written there concerning the Phoenician and Palestinian coasts. The* Periplus *mentions Acre* (*Ἄκη*), *Dor* (*Δῶρος*), *Ashkelon, and presumably Jaffa* (*Ἰόππη*). *Gaza, a city so important at that period, is not mentioned at all, apparently because it belonged to Arabia and not to the Παράπλους Κοίλης Συρίας. On the other hand, the mention of a Sidonian city Arados following the city of Acre and the "Holy Mountain of Zeus" (i.e. Mount Carmel), and preceding Dor, is out of place; certainly a corruption lurks here* (*see the commentary* ad loc.). *Other* notabilia *in the* Periplus *include the first reference in Greek literature to link the legend of Andromeda with the Palestinian coast, a connection which had many ramifications in later Greek literature.*

In the review of the coastal people of Palestine only those of Phoenician stock are mentioned. Arados (*?*) *and Dor are denoted as cities of the Sidonians, while Ashkelon appears as a city of Tyrians. A river belonging to Tyrians is also referred to before the mention of Dor. This information fits in well with the preponderance of the Phoenician element in the area during the Persian period and the Phoenician domination of the Palestinian seaboard.*

1 For a discussion of the date of Pseudo-Scylax and the conclusion that the composition should be dated between 361 and 357 B.C.E., see now P. Fabre, *Les Études Classiques*, XXXIII (1965), pp. 353 ff. For the view that Scylax of Caryanda served as a source for Pseudo-Scylax, see also Gisinger, PW, Ser. 2, III, pp. 635 ff.

2 See A. Peretti, *Studi Classici e Orientali*, XII (1963), p. 80.

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C. Müller, *Geographi Graeci Minores*, I, Paris 1855, 104, p. 79 = A. Baschmakoff, *La Synthèse des périples pontiques*, Paris 1948, p. 78 = K. Galling, *Studien zur Geschichte Israels im persischen Zeitalter*, Tübingen 1964, p. 204

Παλαίτυρος πόλις καὶ ποταμὸς [ὅς] διὰ μέσης ῥεῖ, καὶ πόλις τῶν ['Εκδίππων] καὶ ποταμὸς καὶ Ἄκη πόλις, ἔξω πη (?) πόλις Τυ[ρίων· Κάρμηλος,] ὄρος ἱερὸν Διός· Ἄραδος (?) πόλις Σιδωνίων ... καὶ ποταμὸς Τυρίων· Δῶρος πόλις Σιδωνίων· ['Ιόππη πόλις· ἐκτε-]θῆναί φασιν
5 *ἐνταῦθα τὴν Ἀνδρομ[έδαν τῷ κήτει· Ἀσκά]λων πόλις Τυρίων καὶ βασίλεια. Ἐνταῦ[θα ὅρος ἐστὶ τῆς Κοίλης] Συρίας. Παράπλους Κοίλης Συρίας [ἀπὸ Θαψάκου ποταμοῦ μέχρι] Ἀσκάλωνος στάδια, βψ'.*

1 *Παλαίτυρος* Vossius *πάλιν Τύρος* cod. 2 *'Εκδίππων* Vossius *'Υαλιτῶν* Gronovius 2–3 *πόλις Τυ[ρίων· Κάρμηλος]* Müller *ἔξω τοῦ κόλπου Συκαμίνων πόλις-Κάρμηλος* Galling 3 *Ἄδαρος* Galling / *Σιδονίων Σικαμίνων πόλις* Vossius 4 *'Ιόππη πόλις· ἐκτε-* Vossius 5 *ἔδαν τῷ κήτει· Ἀσκά* Vossius 6 *ὅρος ἐστὶ τῆς Κοίλης* E. Miller 7 *ἀπὸ Θαψάκου ποταμοῦ μέχρι* Fabricius / *αψ'* cod. *βψ'* Müller

The city of Palaityros and the river running through its midst, and the city of [Ecdippians], and a river and the city of Akko ... a city of Ty[rians. Carmel] the sacred mount of Zeus. Arados [?] a city of Sidonians ... and a river of Tyrians. Doros a city of Sidonians, [city of Ioppe], where it is said Andromeda was exposed [to the monster]. Ascalon, a city of Tyrians and a royal palace. Here [is the boundary of Coele-]Syria. The coastal voyage along Coele-Syria [from Thapsacus to] Ascalon consists of 2,700 stadia.

Παλαίτυρος: No consent has been reached among scholars concerning the location of ancient Tyre. For a suggested location at Tell Ma'aschūk, see M. Noth, *ZDPV*, LX (1937), p. 219; for Tell Reschedie, see K. Galling, *ZDPV*, LXIX (1953), pp. 91 ff.; cf. idem, *Studien zur Geschichte Israels*, *op. cit.* (supra, p. 9), p. 196; see also H. J. Katzenstein, *The History of Tyre*, Jerusalem 1973, p. 15. Cf. Strabo, *Geographica*, XVI, 2:24, p. 758: *μετὰ δὲ τὴν Τύρον ἡ Παλαίτυρος ἐν τριάκοντα σταδίοις.*

['*Εκδίππων*]: This restoration by Vossius was accepted by most scholars, among them Galling and Avi-Yonah. The location in the survey of Pseudo-Scylax between ancient Tyre and Acre certainly suits Ecdippa (*Ἔκδιππα* = אכזיב), an old locality of the tribe of Asher; cf. Josh. xix:29; Judg. i:31; cf. also *Ant.*, V, 85. Its location is thus stated in Eusebius, *Onomasticon* (ed. Klostermann), p. 30, l. 13: *Ἔκδιππα ⟨ἀπὸ ϑ'⟩ σημείων Πτολεμαΐδος ἀπιόντων ἐπὶ Τύρον.* On the excavations at the southern part of Tel Akhziv, see E. Stern, *op. cit.* (supra, p. 9), p. 14.

Nevertheless, a difficulty still attaches to the expression *πόλις τῶν Ἐκδίππων* instead of *Ἔκδιππα πόλις* or *πόλις Ἔκδιππα*; cf. the doubts already expressed by Gronovius in his emendation. Something like *πόλις Τυρίων Ἔκδιππα* would be more in line with the usage of Pseudo-Scylax, although there is so far no information pertaining to a political connection between Ecdippa and either Tyre or Sidon.

Ἄκη πόλις: Acre was an important town under Persian rule; see Strabo, *Geographica*, XVI, 2:25, p. 758: *εἶθ' ἡ Πτολεμαΐς ἐστι μεγάλη πόλις, ἣν Ἄκην ὠνόμαζον πρότερον· ᾗ ἐχρῶντο ὁρμητηρίῳ πρὸς τὴν Αἴγυπτον οἱ Πέρσαι.* Cf. also Diodorus, XV, 41:3; Cornelius Nepos, XIV, 5:1; Pompeius Trogus, *Prologus*, 10; Polyaenus, III, 9:56. The commercial ties of Acre with Athens were also strong in the fourth century B.C.E.; see Isaeus, IV, 7; Demosthenes, LII (*Contra Callippum*), 20.

ἔξω πη (?) πόλις Τυ[ρίων]: The restoration of Galling *ἔξω τοῦ κόλπου Συκαμίνων πόλις* has the apparent weakness in that it implies a location for Sycamina (Shiqmona) north of Mount Carmel, while it should be identified with Tell es-Samak, south of the Carmel; see Avi-Yonah, p. 29. Avi-Yonah himself inclines to accept another suggestion of Galling, namely to read *Ἦφα πόλις Τυρίων*. He suggests that this might be the ancient Haifa associated with the remains of Tell abu Hawâm in Haifa Bay, which go back to the fourth century B.C.E.; see also L.H. Vincent, *RB*, XLIV (1935), pp. 435 f. One should only remark that Sycamina is already known to Strabo, *Geographica*, XVI, 2:27, p. 758 (No. 114); however Haifa is mentioned only in Eusebius, *Onomasticon* (ed. Klostermann), p. 108, 30 f., where it is mistakenly identified with Sycamina, and in talmudic literature; cf. S. Klein (ed.), *Sefer Hayishuv*, Vol. I, Part 1, Jerusalem 1939, p. 44 (in Hebrew).

ὄρος ἱερὸν Διός: For Mount Carmel as a cultic centre, cf. Tacitus, *Historiae*, II, 78 (No. 278), and the commentary *ad loc.*

Ἄραδος πόλις Σιδωνίων: The Phoenician city of Arados is mentioned previously by Pseudo-Scylax in the survey of the north Phoenician coast: *Ἀπὸ δὲ Θαψάκου ποταμοῦ ἐστὶ Τρίπολις Φοινίκων, Ἄραδος νῆσος καὶ λιμήν, ... καὶ ἐν τῇ χερρονήσῳ ἑτέρα πόλις Τρίπολις· αὕτη ἐστὶν Ἀράδου καὶ Τύρου καὶ Σιδῶνος·* None of the sources mention any other place with the same name. For a suggested reading *Ἄδαρος* (מגדל־עדר), equating it with Athlit, see Galling, *Studien zur Geschichte Israels*, p. 198. For rejection of this reading, and the view that the name Arados here derives from dittography in the MS caused by the following word Doros, see Avi-Yonah, p. 29.

καὶ ποταμὸς Τυρίων: This river is hardly identifiable. Galling identifies it with Nahr ez-Zerka, but as this is situated to the south of Dor, he has to transpose *καὶ ποταμὸς Τυρίων* to follow *Δῶρος πόλις Σιδωνίων*.

Δῶρος: The connection between Dor and Sidon emerges clearly from the inscription of Eshmunezer, king of Sidon; see the commentary to Diodorus, I, 31:2 (No. 56), above, Vol. I, p. 170. The inscription is commonly dated to the Persian period, although some scholars still prefer a Ptolemaic date; thus recently Avi-Yonah, p. 38. The biblical Dor (Josh. xi:2; xvii:11; Judg. i:27; I Chron. vii:29; I Kings iv:11) is mentioned also in ancient Egyptian literature (cf. J.B. Pritchard, *Ancient Near Eastern Texts Relating to the Old Testament*,

Princeton 1955, p. 26), and it later became the capital of an Assyrian province; see Alt. II, pp. 200 ff. Its supposed inclusion in the Athenian empire is doubtful; see Tcherikover, pp. 92 and 445, n. 15. However this view is still held by R. Meiggs, *The Athenian Empire*, Oxford 1972, p. 102. In the Hellenistic age it was a strong fortress which in 219 B.C.E. kept at bay the whole army of Antiochus III; cf. Polybius, V, 66. It constituted a bulwark of Tryphon in his stand against Antiochus VII Sidetes; cf. I Macc. xv:11 f. See also Claudius Iolaus, apud: Stephanus Byzantius, s.v. *Δῶρος* = *F. Gr. Hist.*, III, C788, F2. On its location, see Abel, II, p. 308.

[*Ἰόππη πόλις ἐκτε-*]: That Joppe (Jaffa) is mentioned by Pseudo-Scylax is almost certain in view of its usual connection with the legend of Andromeda; cf. Strabo, *Geographica*, XVI, 2:28, p. 758 (No. 114). See also the commentaries to Tacitus, *Historiae*, V, 2:2 (No. 281), and to Pausanias, *Graeciae Descriptio*, IV, 35:9 (No. 354). Perseus was already connected with the Syrian coast by the fifth century B.C.E., as we learn from a fragment of the comic poet Cratinus; see J.M. Edmonds, *The Fragments of Attic Comedy*, I, Leiden 1957, p. 94, F207.

Παράπλους Κοίλης Συρίας: For the meaning of *Κοίλη Συρία* and for bibliography, see above, Vol. I, p. 14. Under Persian rule the designation *Κοίλη Συρία* comprised the whole Persian province of עבר נהרא, i.e. Syria west of the Euphrates. This terminology denotes the contrast with the Mesopotamian regions, which also constituted, according to the terminology of that time, a part of Syria; see, e.g., Arrianus, *Anabasis*, III, 8:6: *Σύρους δὲ τούς τε ἐκ τῆς κοίλης καὶ ὅσοι τῆς μεταξὺ τῶν ποταμῶν Συρίας Μαζαῖος ἦγεν.*

According to the usage of Pseudo-Scylax, *Κοίλη Συρία* does not denote the coastal area only, but the whole country, the coastal area of which he describes; see W. Otto, *Beiträge zur Seleukidengeschichte des 3 Jahrhunderts v. Chr.*, Munich 1928, p. 33. Leuze's doubts, and his suggestion that *Κοίλη* is a gloss that crept into the text, seem unjustified; cf. Leuze, *op. cit.* (supra, p. 9), p. 366 (210).

[*ἀπὸ Θαψάκου ποταμοῦ μέχρι*]: The restoration is according to the beginning of § 104: *Ἀπὸ δὲ Θαψάκου ποταμοῦ*. The name cannot be brought into relation with the inland city situated on the Euphrates and named in the Bible (I Kings v:4) תפסח (*Θάψακος*), since the river should be located near the sea. Leuze and Galling identify it with the Orontes; against this, cf. Kahrstedt, p. 5.

στάδια, βψ': This emendation of Müller is consonant with the supposition that *Θάψακος ποταμός* is the Orontes. For emending it to *γψ'* (3700 stadia), which is less likely, cf. Hölscher, *op. cit.* (supra, p. 9), p. 11.

IV. NAEVIUS

Third century B.C.E.

Nothing has been left from the comedy of Naevius, Appella *(or* Apella*), but its name and two lines quoted by the grammarian Priscianus in his* Institutiones Grammaticae, *who refers to the inflection of* caepe *(onion) in Latin and its occurrence both in the feminine form (*caepa*) and in the more common neutral form (*caepe*).*

Some scholars suggest that the name Apella *implies 'the circumcized' i.e. the Jew, and they understand the name as a pun,* Apella *being* sine pelle, *i.e.* sine praeputio. *Some even connect the name of the Naevian comedy with 'Iudaeus Apella' in the satires of Horace (see above, Vol. I, No. 128, pp. 323 f.), where the scholiast Porphyrio accounts for the name by a similar explanation.*

As we know that Naevius wrote plays entitled Testicularia *and* Triphallus, *a name like* Apella *for a play, in the meaning of 'circumcized', would be consonant with the bawdy attitude displayed by Naevius.*[1] *However, I cannot find any corroboration for this view in the lines preserved referring to 'onion'. It is true that like other people Jews also in ancient times used onion for food, but there is no evidence that it was connected with them more than with the inhabitants of Greece and Italy. Some fame attached indeed to the onion of the non-Jewish Palestinian city of Ascalon but not to any Jewish city. One should also point out that in the fragment of Naevius there is no allusion to a bad smell coming from eating onion but only to the eye-streaming as a result. Thus any attempt to connect it with Ammianus Marcellinus, XXII, 5:5 (=No. 506), on the bad-smelling Jews is hardly warranted. Also I doubt whether in the third century B.C.E., even if* Apella *means circumcized, the Jews should be considered then as the circumcized* par excellence. *Thus no conclusion may be drawn as to the existence of Jews in Italy in the time of Naevius, while so far they are not attested there before 139 B.C.E. (see above, Vol. I, pp. 357 ff).*[2]

1 See A.S. Gratwick in: *The Cambridge History of Classical Literature,* II, ed. E.J. Kenney, Cambridge 1982, p. 93.

2 For the view that Naevius wrote 'The Circumcized', see L. Krahner, *Varronis Curio de Cultu Deorum,* Neubrandenburg 1851, p. 23

Still, it seems to me that there is also much to be said for taking Apella *as the Greek name Apelles. Naevius himself uses the name* Apella *for the painter Apelles (in his* Tunicularia, *as well as* Anchisa *instead of Anchises in his* Bellum Poenicum,[3] *and so does Plautus (*Poenulus, *1271;* Epidicus, *626). Iudaeus Apella was interpreted in the same way by the main commentators on Horace (e.g., Bentley, Lejay, Kiessling-Heinze), and the references to Cicero,* Ad Familiares, *VII, 25:2 (*ut Apellae quidem, liberto tuo, dixeris*); X, 17:3, and to the inscriptions (e.g.* CIL, *X, Nos. 4391, 4417, 6114) are well known.*

A comedy by Naevius called Appella *(*Apella*) = Apelles is as likely as* Demetrius *which is attested as a name for one of his other plays.*

(connecting this interpretation with Iudaeus Apella of Horace); E.V. Marmorale, *Naevius Poeta*[2], Florence 1950, pp. 163 f.; V. Pisani, *Paideia*, VIII (1953), p. 18 (interpreting Horace); W. Beare, *The Roman Stage*[2], London 1955, p. 28; J.H. Waszink, in: *Ennius — Fondation Hardt par l'étude de l'antiquité classique, Entretiens*, XVII, 1971 (1972), p. 128, n. 1, and now also J. Geiger in a forthcoming article in *Journal for the History of Judaism.*

Other scholars prefer to take Apella in the meaning of an Apulian woman. Thus M.J. Berchem, *De Gn. Naevii Poetae Vita et Scriptis*, Münster 1861, pp. 68 f. (contradicting Krahner); L. Ferrero, *RFIC*, LXXVI (1948), pp. 112 f. (reviewing the first edition of Marmorale, *op. cit.*); B. Riposati, *Il teatro romano*, I, Milan 1955–1956, p. 124. It should be kept in mind that Naevius wrote a play named *Tarentilla*, 'The Tarentine Maid'.

3 See Marmorale, *op. cit.*, p. 248 F31.

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Appella, apud: Priscianus, *Institutiones Grammaticae*, VI, 11 — Hertz, in: *Grammatici Latini*, ed. H. Keil, II, pp. 203 f. = O. Ribbeck, *Comicorum Romanorum Fragmenta*[3], Leipzig 1898, p. 9 = E.H. Warmington, *Remains of Old Latin*, II, pp. 78 ff., Naevius F18–19 (*LCL*) = E.V. Marmorale, *Naevius Poeta*[2], Florence 1950, p. 207 (*Fabularum Palliatarum Fragmenta*, No. IV)

Antiquissimi in — a quoque singulare feminino genere hoc recte protulisse inveniuntur. Naevius in Appella:
Ut illum di perdant, qui primum holitor caepam protulit!
Frequentior tamen usus hoc cepe protulit. — Naevius in Appella:
5 Cui caepe edundod oculus alter profluit.

3 *di perdant* C.F.W. Müller *differant* codd *dii terant* Aldina / *primus* Bothius *protulit cepam* C.F.W. Müller 4 *Apella* Aldina *appella* codd 5 *edundod* Buecheler *edendo* vel *edundo* codd

The most archaic writers are found to have used feminine singular in *a*, rightly. Naevius in *Appella*[1]: 'Well, gods damn him — the kitchen gardener who first produced an onion!' Still it was more usual practice to inflect from a neuter form *cepe*. Naevius in *Appella*: 'Who has one eye streaming because he is eating an onion'.

(trans. E. H. Warmington, *LCL*)

1 Warmington translated 'The Circumcized'.

V. ADDENDA TO ALEXANDER POLYHISTOR

(cf. above, Vol. I, pp. 157 ff.)

The Armenian translation of the Chronicle *of Eusebius includes a text attributed to Berossus which Eusebius derived from Alexander Polyhistor concerning the "great and first deluge". We learn that this occurred in the time of Xisuthrus, and that it is also mentioned by Moses (No. 560a). However, the text included in this version of Eusebius'* Chronicle *implying that there was more than one great deluge can hardly have been written by Berossus since it makes a distinction between the first, and great deluge, and a subsequent one. The latter was to be connected with the Greek myth of Deucalion and Pyrrha, but the distinction was not made until a later period.*[1] *When he copied it, therefore, Alexander must have already found the passage interpolated in the text of Berossus.*

The reference to Moses here also appears to be an addition, and is certainly an addition to the text of Berossus. Alternative explanations that may be suggested are that it could have been a Jewish interpolation in the text of Berossus taken over by Alexander Polyhistor, or that Alexander himself inserted it from his knowledge of Jewish tradition.[2]

1 See the later formulation in Eusebius, *Praeparatio Evangelica*, X, 10:7 (ex Africano): ἀπὸ Ὠγύγου ... ἐφ' οὗ γέγονεν ὁ μέγας καὶ πρῶτος ἐν τῇ Ἀττικῇ κατακλυσμός. Varro already used the expression "cataclysmus prior", meaning a deluge prior to the one that occurred in the times of Deucalion and Pyrrha; see Censorinus, *De Die Natali*, 21:1–2: "Hic [scil. Varro] enim tria discrimina temporum esse tradit, primum ab hominum principio ad cataclysmum priorem ... secundum a cataclysmo priore ad olympiadem primam ... a priore scilicet cataclysmo, quem dicunt et Ogygii". Jacoby suggests that Varro derived his knowledge of the first and older deluge from Alexander Polyhistor; see *F. Gr. Hist.*, IIIb (Suppl.), Vol. I, p. 387. However this assumption is by no means certain, and even less so is the view that Varro implies here the specific flood of the Bible, and not just the notion of a general oriental flood; see B. Wacholder, *HTR*, LXI (1968), pp. 469 f. Nor can it be proved that the chronographers Polybius (cf. *F. Gr. Hist.*, II, B254), Thallus (cf. *F. Gr. Hist.*, II, B256), and Phlegon of Tralles (cf. *F. Gr. Hist.*, II, B257, F16) synchronized Jewish with oriental and Greek history, a possibility taken into consideration by Wacholder, *op. cit.*, p. 476.

2 It has been assumed also that a chronicle of world history that synchronized Jewish and Greek history gained circulation before the

However, we should by no means exclude the possibility that the mention of Moses here does not owe its appearance to Alexander Polyhistor either, but to some later hand, whether Jewish or Christian, even if not of Eusebius himself.[3]

The Chronicle *of Eusebius (both in the Armenian version and in that transmitted by Syncellus) states that Alexander Polyhistor also referred to the words of the Sibyl relating to the building of the Tower, the confusion of languages, the foundation of Babylon and the subsequent war waged by Titan against Cronus (No. 560b2). Without his name being mentioned, Alexander Polyhistor is copied almost verbally by Josephus in the* Antiquities, *where the indirect speech of Alexander was changed into direct speech by the Jewish historian* (Ant., *I, 118*). *In his quotation Josephus uses the plural θεοί, a form also employed for a similar allusion by the second-century C.E. writer Abydenus, who was also dependent on Alexander Polyhistor for his source, though he does not mention the Sibyl. Both the text of the Armenian version of Eusebius'* Chronicle *and that of Syncellus use the singular form, as is compatible with the monotheism of the writers.*[4]

The fragment from Alexander Polyhistor brought here is in fact a summary of a passage occurring in the Third Sibylline Oracle (see the commentary ad loc.). *Its text, to be dated to the second century B.C.E., has details characteristic of this passage.*[5]

time of Alexander Polyhistor and was used by him; see Wacholder, *op. cit.* (supra, n. 1), p. 463.

3 Jacoby admits that the relative clause in which Moses is mentioned may be an interpolation, and thinks that it also could be an addition by Eusebius; see *F. Gr. Hist.*, IIIb (Suppl.), Vol. II, Notes, p. 282, n. 50. The synchronizations of Greek history with the Jewish past found in the Chronicle of Castor, as quoted by Eusebius (ed. Karst, pp. 81 ff. = *F. Gr. Hist.*, II, B 250, F 2–4), are obviously additions to the text of Castor.

4 For a suggestion that Eusebius used a text already interpolated by a Jew or a Christian, see P. Schnabel, *Berossos und die babylonisch-hellenistische Literatur*, Leipzig–Berlin 1923, pp. 72, 155 ff.

5 On the date of the Third Sibylline Oracle, i.e., the oracle of the Jewish Sibyl, of which at least important parts were written in the second century B.C.E., see H.H. Rowley, *ZAW*, XLIV (1926), pp. 324 ff.; Fraser, I, p. 709; A. Momigliano, *Studi in onore del Cardinale Michele Pellegrino*, Turin 1975, pp. 1080 f.; J.J. Collins, *Bulletin of the Institute of Jewish Studies*, II (1974), pp. 1 ff. On the dependence of Alexander Polyhistor on the Third Sibylline Oracle, see K. Mras, *Wiener Studien*, XXIX (1907), pp. 25 f.; Schürer, III, pp. 584 f.; Schnabel, *op. cit.* (supra, n. 4), pp. 73 ff. The Third Sibylline Oracle has characteristic details present in the quotation from Alexander Polyhistor.

Appendix I

The extracts below also include the full text of a quotation by Josephus from Alexander Polyhistor (No. 560c), which contains the single express reference made by Josephus to Alexander (see the introduction to Alexander Polyhistor, above, Vol. I, p. 157, and No. 51a). The quotation is from a history of the Jews by a writer mentioned only here, Cleodemus-Malchus (or Malchas), and it is found also in Eusebius, Praeparatio Evangelica, *IX, 20:2–4. However, Eusebius himself states that he derived it from Josephus. It is quite possible that Alexander Polyhistor included the passage from Cleodemus not in his compilation "On Jews", but in another of his works, perhaps in that on Libya. Moreover, it is quite likely that neither Alexander Polyhistor nor Josephus was conscious that Cleodemus was a Jew. Alexander's compilation on the Jews also included information from non-Jewish writers, like Apollonius Molon (see above, Vol. I, pp. 148 ff.).*

The passage from Cleodemus is based on the genealogical list in Genesis relating the progeny of Abraham and Keturah (cf. Gen. xxv:3–4). According to Cleodemus, some of this progeny accompanied Heracles on his campaign against Libya and Antaeus; Heracles also married a granddaughter of Abraham and Keturah, and in turn their grandson Sophon gave the name to the African people of Sophakes. The syncretistic nature of the passage may even shed some doubt on the assumption that Cleodemus was a Jew.[6] *However, both his direct use of the biblical tradition, as well as his second, Semitic, name (Malchus), seem to indicate that he was a Jew, or possibly a Samaritan.*[7] *A Jewish-Hellenistic environment that produced writers like Artapanus, Eupolemus, and the anonymous Samaritan syncretistic writer (Pseudo-Eupolemus) could well have produced Cleodemus. The kinship that he maintains to have existed between Abraham and Heracles has its counterpart in the legendary traditions of kinship between the Jews and Sparta, in which the person of Abraham also played a part.*[8]

6 See A. Momigliano, *Alien Wisdom*, Cambridge 1975, p. 93: "The very mysterious Malchus or Cleodemus, whose Jewish origin is only probable". In general, cf. A.M. Denis, in: *Hommages à Marie Delcourt*, Brussels 1970, pp. 168 ff.; Y. Gutman, *The Beginnings of Jewish-Hellenistic Literature*, II, Jerusalem 1963, pp. 136 ff. (in Hebrew).

7 See Freudenthal, pp. 130 ff.

8 See M. Hengel, *Pseudepigrapha*, I (*Entretiens sur l'antiquité classique, Fondation Hardt*, XVIII, 1971), 1972, pp. 241 f.

560a

apud: Eusebius, *Chronica*, I, p. 7 — Schöne = *Die Chronik aus dem armenischen*, ed. J. Karst, Leipzig 1911, p. 4 = P. Schnabel, *Berossos und die babylonisch-hellenistische Literatur*, Leipzig-Berlin 1923, p. 261 = *F. Gr. Hist.*, III, C680, F3

Haec dicens ⟨scil. Alexander⟩, atque etiam ulterius progrediens, unum post alterum ex ordine recenset reges Assyriorum, reges X, ab Aloro primo rege usque ad Xisuthrum, sub quo magnum et primum diluvium fuisse ait; de quo et Moses mentionem facit.

This he [scil. Alexander] says, and advancing beyond this he counts one after another, in order, the kings of the Assyrians ten in number, from Alorus the first king to Xisuthrus, under whom he says occurred the great and first deluge, which is mentioned also by Moses.

560b1

Syncellus, I, p. 81 — Dindorf = Schnabel, *op. cit.*, pp. 69 f. = *F. Gr. Hist.*, III, A273, F79b; cf. Abydenus, apud: *F. Gr. Hist.*, III, C685, F4

Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ Πολυΐστορος περὶ τῆς πυργοποιΐας

Σίβυλλα δέ φησιν· ὁμοφώνων ὄντων πάντων ἀνθρώπων τινὰς τούτων πύργον ὑπερμεγέθη οἰκοδομῆσαι, ὅπως εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν ἀναβῶσιν· τοῦ δὲ θεοῦ ἀνέμους τῷ πύργῳ ἐμφυσήσαντος ἀνατρέψαι αὐτὸν καὶ ἰδίαν ἑκάστῳ
5 *φωνὴν δοῦναι· διὸ δὴ Βαβυλῶνα τὴν πόλιν κληθῆναι.*
Μετὰ δὲ τὸν κατακλυσμὸν Τιτᾶνα καὶ Προμηθέα γενέσθαι.

4 *αὐτὸν* Cyrillus *αὐτοὺς* Syncellus

Alexander Polyhistor on the Construction of the Tower

Sibylla says: When all people were of one language some of them built a huge tower in order to ascend into Heaven. God, however, blew winds into the tower, overthrew it and gave to each one his own language. Therefore the city was called Babylon.
After the deluge Titan and Prometheus came into existence.

560b2

Eusebius, *Chronica*, I — Schöne, p. 23 = Karst, *op. cit.*, p. 12 = *F. Gr. Hist.*, III, C680, F4 = *ibid.*, A273, F79

Atque cum his omnibus (praeterea) etiam de turris fabricatione

Polyhistor consentiens cum Mosis libris, hoc modo ad syllabas usque commemorat.

Alexandri Polyhistoris de turris aedificatione

Sibylla dicit: unanimes omnes homines turrim aedificabant altissimam, ut in caelum ascenderent. Deus autem omnipotens ventum insufflans, turrim subvertebat, et propriam unicuique linguam distribuebat: ideoque urbis nomen Babylon vocabatur. Post diluvium autem Titan et Prometheus existebant, ubi quidem Titan adversus Cronum certamen belli movebat.

In addition to all this Alexander Polyhistor agrees also about the construction of the Tower with the books of Moses up to the syllables, and he mentions it as follows:

Alexander Polyhistor on the Construction of the Tower

Sibylla says: When all people were of one mind they began to build a very high tower to ascend into Heaven. The Almighty God, however, blew into the tower and overthrew it, and apportioned to each one his own language. Therefore the name of the city was called Babylon. After the deluge Titan and Prometheus came into existence, and then Titan waged war against Cronus.

Alexander Polyhistor is presumably dependent for the text on *Oracula Sibyllina*, III, ll. 97 ff.:

97 ἀλλ' ὁπόταν μεγάλοιο θεοῦ τελέωνται ἀπειλαί,
ἅς ποτ' ἐπηπείλησε βροτοῖς, ὅτε πύργον ἔτευξαν
χώρῃ ἐν Ἀσσυρίῃ· ὁμόφωνοι δ' ἦσαν ἅπαντες
100 καὶ βούλοντ' ἀναβῆν' εἰς οὐρανὸν ἀστερόεντα·
αὐτίκα δ' ἀθάνατος μεγάλην ἐπέθηκεν ἀνάγκην
πνεῦμασιν· αὐτὰρ ἔπειτ' ἄνεμοι μέγαν ὑψόθι πύργον
ῥίψαν καὶ θνητοῖσιν ἐπ' ἀλλήλους ἔριν ὦρσαν·
104 τοὔνεκά τοι Βαβυλῶνα βροτοὶ πόλει οὔνομ' ἔθεντο.
...
110 καὶ βασίλευσε Κρόνος καὶ Τιτὰν Ἰαπετός τε
121 ... καὶ μαχέσαντο Κρόνος Τιτάν τε πρὸς αὐτούς.

Cf. the quotation from the Sybil in Josephus, *Ant.*, I, 118: *περὶ δὲ τοῦ πύργου τούτου καὶ τῆς ἀλλοφωνίας τῶν ἀνθρώπων μέμνηται καὶ Σίβυλλα λέγουσα οὕτως· πάντων ὁμοφώνων ὄντων τῶν ἀνθρώπων πύργον ᾠκοδόμησάν τινες ὑψηλότατον ὡς ἐπὶ τὸν οὐρανὸν ἀναβησόμενοι δι' αὐτοῦ. οἱ δὲ θεοὶ ἀνέμους ἐπιπέμψαντες ἀνέτρεψαν τὸν πύργον καὶ ἰδίαν ἑκάστῳ φωνὴν ἔδωκαν· καὶ διὰ τοῦτο Βαβυλῶνα συνέβη κληθῆναι τὴν πόλιν.*

See also the fragment from the work of Abydenus, deriving from Alexander Polyhistor and quoted by Eusebius, *Praeparatio Evangelica*, IX, 14:2 (cf. idem, *Chronica*, ed. Schöne, I, pp. 33 f. = ed. Karst, p. 17 = Schnabel, *op. cit.* [supra, p. 14, n. 4], pp. 71 f. = *F. Gr. Hist.*, III, C685, F4): *ἐν τῇ δὴ λέγουσι τοὺς πρώτους ἐκ γῆς ἀνασχόντας, ῥώμῃ τε καὶ μεγέθει χαυνωθέντας καὶ δὴ θεῶν καταφρονήσαντας ἀμείνονας εἶναι, τύρσιν ἠλίβατον ἀείρειν, ἵνα νῦν Βαβυλών ἐστιν· ἤδη τε ἆσσον εἶναι τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ τοὺς ἀνέμους θεοῖσι βωθέοντας ἀνατρέψαι περὶ αὐτοῖσι τὸ μηχάνημα· τοῦ δὴ τὰ ἐρείπια λέγεσθαι Βαβυλῶνα· τέως δὲ ὄντας ὁμογλώσσους ἐκ θεῶν πολύθροον φωνὴν ἐνείκασθαι, μετὰ δὲ Κρόνῳ τε καὶ Τιτῆνι συστῆναι πόλεμον·*

560c

Cleodemus, apud: Josephus, *Antiquitates Judaicae*, I, 240–241 = *F. Gr. Hist.*, III, A273, F102 = *ibid.*, C727, F1 = A.M. Denis, *Fragmenta Pseudepigraphorum quae Supersunt Graeca*, Leiden 1970, pp. 196 f.

(240) Μαρτυρεῖ δέ μου τῷ λόγῳ Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ Πολυΐστωρ λέγων οὕτως· «Κλεόδημος δέ φησιν ὁ προφήτης ὁ καὶ Μάλχος ἱστορῶν τὰ περὶ Ἰουδαίων, καθὼς καὶ Μωυσῆς ἱστόρησεν ὁ νομοθέτης αὐτῶν, ὅτι ἐκ τῆς Κατούρας Ἀβράμῳ ἐγένοντο παῖδες ἱκανοί. (241) λέγει δὲ αὐτῶν καὶ τὰ ὀνόματα ὀνομάζων τρεῖς Ἰαφέραν Σούρην Ἰαφράν. ἀπὸ Σούρου μὲν τὴν Ἀσσυρίαν κεκλῆσθαι, ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν δύο Ἰαφρᾶ τε καὶ Ἰαφέρου, πόλιν τε Ἐφρᾶν καὶ τὴν χώραν Ἀφρικὰ ὀνομασθῆναι. τούτους γὰρ Ἡρακλεῖ συστρατεῦσαι ἐπὶ Λιβύην καὶ Ἀνταῖον· γήμαντά τε τὴν Ἀφράνου θυγατέρα Ἡρακλέα γεννῆσαι υἱὸν ἐξ αὐτῆς Δίδωρον· τούτου δὲ γενέσθαι Σόφωνα, ἀφ' οὗ τοὺς βαρβάρους Σόφακας λέγεσθαι.»

2 *μάλχας* O *μαλχὰς* MSP *Μαλχᾶς* Eus. 4 *χατούρας* MSPE *καττούρας* L *cethura* Lat. *Χεττούρας* Eus. 5 *Ἰαφέραν*] *ἄφεραν* ML *ἀφέραν* SP *ἀφερὰν* E *apheran* Lat. *Ἀφὲρ* Eus. / *Σούρην*] *σούριν* O *σουρείμ* MLE *σουρίν* SP *surim* Lat. *Ἀσοὺρ* Eus. / *ἴαφραν* M *ἰαφράμ* E *Ἀφράν* Eus. 7 *Ἐφρᾶν*] *ἀφρὰν* ME Eus. *ἄφραν* SPL *abran* Lat. / *ἄφρικα* M *ἀφρίκαν* SPE *ἀφρικὴν* L *africam* Lat. 8 *γήμασάν* R / *Ἀφράνου*] *ὄφραν* M *ἄφρα* SP *ἄφραν* L *iaphram* Lat. *Ἀφρὰ* Eus. 9 *δέδωρον* M *δὲ δώρων* L *dodorim* Lat. *Διόδωρον* Eus. *Βόδωρον* Eustathius 10 *σοφῶνα* M *σώφωνα* SP[1] *soron* Lat. *Σοφωνᾶν* Eus. *Σωφονὰ* Eustathius *Σοφῶκα* Freudenthal, p. 230 *Σόφακας*] *σόφωνας* O *osophaci* Lat. *Σοφὰς* Eus. *σοφιστὰς* Eustathius

(240) I have a witness to this statement in Alexander Polyhistor, whose words are as follows: "Cleodemus the prophet, also called Malchus, in his history of the Jews relates, in conformity with the narrative of the lawgiver Moses, that Abraham had several sons by Katura. (241) He moreover gives their names, mentioning three — Apheras, Sures, Japhras — adding that Sures gave his name to Assyria, and the two others, Japhras and Apheras, gave their names to the city of Aphra and the country of Africa. In fact, he adds, these latter joined Heracles in his campaign against Libya and Antaeus; and Heracles marrying the daughter of Aphranes,[1] had by her a son Didorus, who begat Sophon, from whom the barbarians take their name of Sophakes." (trans. H. St. J. Thackeray, *LCL*)

241 *Ἰαφέραν Σούρην Ἰαφράν*: Cf. Gen. xxv:3–4 (עֵפֶר, אַשּׁוּרִם, עֵיפָה). *Δίδωρον ... Σόφακας λέγεσθαι*: Cf. Plutarchus, *Sertorius*, 9:4: *Τιγγῖται δὲ μυθολογοῦσιν Ἀνταίου τελευτήσαντος τὴν γυναῖκα Τίγγην Ἡρακλεῖ συνελθεῖν, Σόφακα δ' ἐξ αὐτῶν γενόμενον βασιλεῦσαι τῆς χώρας καὶ πόλιν ἐπώνυμον τῆς μητρὸς ἀποδεῖξαι, Σόφακος δὲ παῖδα γενέσθαι Διόδωρον, ᾧ πολλὰ τῶν Λιβυκῶν ἐθνῶν ὑπήκουσεν Ἑλληνικὸν ἔχοντι στράτευμα.*

1 It is not clear enough with whom Aphranes should be identified; probably he is the same as Apheras.

VI. PLINY THE YOUNGER

61 or 62 C.E. to before 114 C.E.

Pompeius Falco is mentioned in four letters included in the correspondence of Pliny the Younger (Epistulae, *I, 23; IV, 27; VII, 22; IX, 15*). *It seems that the third, in which Pliny recommends a friend of his, Cornelius Minicianus, to Pompeius Falco for a military tribuneship, could only have been written during the years of Falco's legateship of Judaea. It has been for long established that one Quintus Pompeius Falco was among the senatorial governors of Judaea in the first decade of the second century C.E. This emerges from inscriptions showing him to have acted as* legatus pro praetore *of the province in this period.*[1] *The inscriptions also reveal the main stages of Falco's career and the relative chronology of his sojourn in Judaea as its governor. Falco was a tribune in the Legio X Fretensis which was stationed at Jerusalem after the destruction of the Temple. He served with distinction in the First Dacian War of Trajan, and became the commander of Legio V Macedonica. Subsequently he was governor of Lycia and Pamphylia, and afterwards of Judaea. He was presumably* consul suffectus *in 108 C.E., as ensues from the almost certain restoration of his name in the* Fasti Ostienses.[2] *Then came his consular legateship of Moesia Inferior and Britannia, and at the pinnacle of his career the proconsulate of Asia, in 123–124 C.E.*[3]

It is certain that Falco became governor of Judaea after his governorship of Lycia and Pamphylia, which he commenced not before 102–103 C.E. since until then he had taken part in the Dacian War. His governorship of Lycia and Pamphylia presumably lasted for some years. It can also be assumed that Falco's

1 See *ILS*, Nos. 1035–1036; *L'Année Épigraphique*, 1972, No. 577.

2 See E. Groag, *Jahreshefte des österreichischen archäologischen Institutes*, XXIX (1935), Suppl., pp. 177 f.; for the *Fasti Ostienses*, see *Inscriptiones Italiae*, Vol. XIII, Part 1, ed. A. Degrassi, Rome 1947, p. 199; see also A.N. Sherwin-White, *The Letters of Pliny; a Historical and Social Commentary*, Oxford 1966, p. 429.

3 See W. Eck, *Senatoren von Vespasian bis Hadrian*, Munich 1970, p. 192, n. 332; on the career of Falco, see also Wolf, PW, XXI, pp. 2270 f.

appointment to Judaea would have taken place before his election to the consulship in 108 C.E. Thus the years 105–107 (or 108) constitute the probable term for Falco's praetorial legateship of Judaea.[4]

None of the letters included in the correspondence of Pliny can have been written before the accession of Nerva in 96 or later than 108 C.E.[5] *Two of the governorships of Falco fall within these years, that of Lycia and Pamphylia and that of Judaea. The first must be excluded, since Lycia and Pamphylia belonged to the* inermes provinciae. *This leaves Judaea as the only province in which Falco could have appointed Cornelius Minicianus as a military officer. Moreover, the letters included in Book VII of Pliny's correspondence seem to reflect events around 107 C.E.,*[6] *and his letter of recommendation is probably to be dated to that year also. This fits in well with the chronology of Falco's career as revealed in the inscriptions.*[7]

4 In an inscription from Hierapolis–Castabala Falco is designated as "legatus Legionis X Fretensis" and "legatus pro praetore provinciae Iudaeae consularis"; cf. *ILS*, No. 1036. Many scholars think "consularis" to be an error of the stone-cutter; see, e.g., R. Syme, *JRS*, XLVIII (1958), p. 4; E.M. Smallwood, *JRS*, LII (1962), p. 132, n. 10; Schürer, ed. Vermes & Millar, I, p. 517. For the possibility that Falco stayed in Judaea when he was *consul suffectus* and for some time afterwards, see Eck, *op. cit.* (supra, n. 3), p. 15, n. 69.

5 See Syme, II, p. 660.

6 See Syme, II, p. 661; Sherwin-White, *op. cit.* (supra, n. 2), pp. 37 f. Some twenty-one or twenty-two out of thirty-one letters have connections with the nexus of Pliny's life about 107 C.E.

7 The rather unusual transfer from one praetorian province (Lycia and Pamphylia) to another (Judaea) may perhaps be explained by Falco's previous army experience as a military tribune in Judaea and by the necessities of the situation in this province. Many years after Falco had left Judaea he was still honoured by the citizens of Palestinian Flavia Neapolis; see *L'Année Épigraphique* (supra, n. 1), *loc. cit.*: *ἐτείμησεν Φλαουιέων Νεαπολειτῶν Σαμαρέων ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος τὸν σωτῆρα καὶ εὐεργέτην.* On the career of Pompeius Falco, see now also A.R. Birley, *The Fasti of Roman Britain*, Oxford 1981, pp. 95 ff.

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Plinius, *Epistulae*, VII, 22 : 1–3 — Mynors

C. Plinius Falconi suo s.

(1) Minus miraberis me tam instanter petisse, ut in amicum meum conferres tribunatum, cum scieris quis ille qualisque. Possum autem iam tibi et nomen indicare et describere ipsum, postquam polliceris. (2) Est Cornelius Minicianus, ornamentum regionis meae seu dignitate seu moribus. Natus splendide abundat facultatibus, amat studia ut solent pauperes. Idem rectissimus iudex, fortissimus advocatus, amicus fidelissimus. (3) Accepisse te beneficium credes, cum propius inspexeris hominem omnibus honoribus, omnibus titulis (nihil volo elatius de modestissimo viro dicere) parem. Vale.

To Pompeius Falco

(1) You may have felt that I was rather pressing in my request for you to confer a military tribunate on a friend of mine, but you will be less surprised when you know who and what he is. Now that I have your promise I can give you his name and a full description. (2) He is Cornelius Minicianus, in rank and character the pride of my native district. He is well born and rich, but cares for literature as a poor professional might; and he is remarkable too for his justice on the bench, courage at the bar, and loyalty in friendship. (3) You will feel that it is you who are receiving the favour when you come to know him more intimately and find that he is equal to any official position or distinction; I don't want to say more in praise of the most modest of men. Farewell. (trans. B. Radice, *LCL*)

2 *Cornelius Minicianus*: Some doubts as to whether Cornelius Minicianus really went as an officer to Judaea are raised by R. Syme, *Historia*, IX (1960), p. 364. It is known that a Roman knight, C. Cornelius Minicianus, served as a military tribune of Legio III Augusta stationed in Africa (*ILS*, No. 2722), and Syme suggests that Minicianus may not have been eager to go to Judaea, a province which perhaps was disturbed at that time. However, the identification of C. Cornelius Minicianus of the Legio III Augusta with the Cornelius Minicianus of this letter can hardly be proved. See also E. Birley, *Roman Britain and the Roman Army*, Kendal 1961, p. 141, n. 17.

VII. ANONYMOUS GREEK AUTHORS ON THE JEWISH REVOLT UNDER TRAJAN

Second century C.E.?

One of the main sources for the history of the Jewish revolt under Trajan is Eusebius' account of the events, which invites comparison with the corresponding history of Cassius Dio, as transmitted in the epitome of Xiphilinus (cf. Cassius Dio, LXVIII, 32:1–3 = No. 437, and the commentary ad loc.). *Eusebius himself states expressly in his* Historia Ecclesiastica *that one of his intentions in composing his work was to relate the fate of the Jewish people from the time of the plot against Jesus; see* Historia Ecclesiastica, *I, 1:2: πρὸς ἐπὶ τούτοις καὶ τὰ παραυτίκα τῆς κατὰ τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν ἐπιβουλῆς τὸ πᾶν Ἰουδαίων ἔθνος περιελθόντα.*[1] *Thus, after he has summarized the former events, Eusebius dwells on the destruction of the Temple, using Josephus as a source, and on the course of the disasters which befell the Jews as a result of the fierce rebellions in the times of Trajan and Hadrian. Eusebius rounds up his summary of the Jewish revolt under Trajan by an allusion to the Greek authors who related these events.*

Concerning the revolt under Trajan, Eusebius records its main stages and extent (Historia Ecclesiastica, *IV, 2:2–5*). *The explanation suggested by him for the revolt is that the Jews were seized by some terrible spirit of rebellion which caused them to rush into sedition against the Greeks. It emerges from the account of Eusebius that the Jewry of Cyrene, even more than of Egypt, was the mainspring of the rebellious movement; the only Jewish individual named by him in this connection is the leader of the Jewish fighters in Cyrene, who is called by him Lukuas.*[2] *The Jews of Egypt also rallied to him. In Egypt*

1 See Schwartz, PW, VI, p. 1399 (for the general purport of Eusebius' *Historia Ecclesiastica*, see pp. 1395 ff.). See also J. Moreau, *Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum*, VI (1966), p. 1071 f.; A. Dempf, *Eusebios als Historiker* (*Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-historische Klasse, Sitzungsberichte*, 1964, fasc. 11). For the impact of the Jewish environment at Caesarea upon Eusebius, see J. Stevenson, *Studies in Eusebius*, Cambridge 1929, pp. 31 f.

2 See commentary to No. 437, *ad loc.*

itself the Jews had an initial success. The Greeks fled to Alexandria where, however, they defeated and slaughtered the Jews living in that city. The Jewish rebels in Cyrene and Egypt were finally put down by the Roman commander Turbo, after fierce fighting had taken place for a long time in which the Jews suffered heavy casualties. Although the story of the Jewish revolt in Cyprus is told by Eusebius in his Chronica, *he ignores it completely in the* Historia Ecclesiastica. *Eusebius alludes to the events in Mesopotamia at that time (cf. the commentary to Arrianus,* Parthica *= No. 332a), telling of the dispatch of Lusius Quietus there by the emperor and the military expedition led by Quietus which caused the death of many Jews. In the view of Eusebius, these steps were taken as preventive measures by the Romans in order to forestall an attack by the Jews.*

We cannot even try to surmise with any degree of probability the identity of the Greek historians to whom Eusebius refers.[3] *Some points, however, emerge. The Greek historians who related the story of the Jewish revolt under Trajan did not dedicate special monographs to this subject, but included it in historical works of a more comprehensive nature (οἱ τὰ κατὰ τοὺς αὐτοὺς χρόνους γραφῇ παραδόντες). It is also clear that neither Cassius Dio nor his ultimate sources could have been one of the Greek writers mentioned by Eusebius because of the obvious difference in details between Xiphilinus' abridgement of Cassius Dio and the account of Eusebius; thus the Jewish leader of the revolt in Cyrene is called Andreas by Cassius Dio, but Lukuas by Eusebius. However, the view propounded by Wilcken that Eusebius' narrative of the revolt derives from a Jewish tradition can hardly be maintained.*[4] *While the account of Eusebius does not include the tale of Jewish atrocities to be found in Cassius Dio's history, there is nothing in it displaying much sympathy for Jews or a manifestly Jewish point of view. Also the way in which Eusebius expresses himself, saying that the Greek writers related the narrative in these very words (αὐτοῖς*

3 In another instance Eusebius introduces an allusion to Thucydides, II, 64, by the words: ὡς ἴδιός τις αὐτῶν ἀπήγγειλεν συγγραφεύς, without any mention of the author's name; see *Historia Ecclesiastica*, VII, 22:6.

4 See U. Wilcken, *Hermes*, XXVII (1892), pp. 479 f. On the handling of sources by Eusebius in the *Historia Ecclesiastica* in general, see B. Gustafsson, *Studia Patristica*, IV, ed. F. L. Cross, Berlin 1961 (= *Texte und Untersuchungen*, LXXIX), pp. 429 ff. Gustafsson does not enter into the question of the sources of Eusebius for the Jewish revolt under Trajan.

ἱστόρησαν ῥήμασιν), suggests that he drew on these authors for what he had to tell about the course of the Jewish rebellion.[5]

In the same work Eusebius refers to Greek histories concerning the history of Antipater and the coronation of Herod in a somewhat different manner (*cf.* Historia Ecclesiastica, *I, 7:11–12*): *ὕστερον Ὑρκανῷ φιλοῦται* ⟨scil. *Ἀντίπατρος*⟩ *τῷ τῆς Ἰουδαίας ἀρχιερεῖ· πρεσβεύσας δὲ πρὸς Πομπήιον ὑπὲρ τοῦ Ὑρκανοῦ καὶ τὴν βασιλείαν ἐλευθερώσας αὐτῷ ὑπὸ Ἀριστοβούλου τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ περικοπτομένην, αὐτὸς ηὐτύχησεν, ἐπιμελητὴς τῆς Παλαιστίνης χρηματίσας· διαδέχεται δὲ τὸν Ἀντίπατρον, φθόνῳ τῆς πολλῆς εὐτυχίας δολοφονηθέντα, υἱὸς Ἡρῴδης, ὃς ὕστερον ὑπ' Ἀντωνίου καὶ τοῦ Σεβαστοῦ συγκλήτου δόγματι τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἐκρίθη βασιλεύειν· οὗ παῖδες Ἡρῴδης οἵ τ' ἄλλοι τετράρχαι. ταῦτα μὲν δὴ κοινὰ καὶ ταῖς Ἑλλήνων ἱστορίαις.*

In his account of the Jewish revolt in Judaea under Hadrian, Eusebius does not mention any Greek historians (Historia Ecclesiastica, *IV, 6:1–3*). *Like the Jewish sources, Eusebius deals mainly with the activities of Tineius Rufus on the Roman side, while on the Jewish side he emphasizes above all the personality of Bar-Kokhba, whom he treats unsympathetically, and the fall of Beitar. It stands to reason that he used already existing Christian accounts here. At the end he refers to Ariston of Pella, but it is hard to determine whether Ariston was his authority only for the statement concerning the prohibition imposed upon Jews against entering Jerusalem, or also for what is previously stated about the revolt in general.*

5 See also M. Pucci, *Rivista Storica dell'Antichità*, IX (1979), pp. 61 ff., especially p. 64, on the direct use of Arrian by Eusebius.

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apud: Eusebius, *Ecclesiastica Historia*, IV, 2:1–5 — Schwartz

(1) Ἤδη γοῦν τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος ⟨scil. *Τραϊανοῦ*⟩ *εἰς ἐνιαυτὸν ὀκτωκαιδέκατον ἐλαύνοντος, αὖθις Ἰουδαίων κίνησις ἐπαναστᾶσα πάμπολυ πλῆθος αὐτῶν διαφθείρει. (2) ἔν τε γὰρ Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ καὶ τῇ λοιπῇ Αἰγύπτῳ καὶ προσέτι κατὰ Κυρήνην, ὥσπερ ὑπὸ πνεύματος δεινοῦ τινος καὶ στασιώδους ἀναρριπισθέντες, ὥρμηντο πρὸς τοὺς συνοίκους Ἕλληνας στασιάζειν, αὐξήσαντές τε εἰς μέγα τὴν στάσιν, τῷ ἐπιόντι ἐνιαυτῷ πόλεμον οὐ σμικρὸν συνῆψαν, ἡγουμένου τηνικαῦτα Λούπου τῆς ἁπάσης Αἰγύπτου. (3) καὶ δὴ ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ συμβολῇ ἐπικρατῆσαι αὐτοὺς συνέβη τῶν Ἑλλήνων· οἳ καὶ καταφυγόντες εἰς τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν τοὺς ἐν τῇ πόλει Ἰουδαίους ἐζώγρησάν τε καὶ ἀπέκτειναν, τῆς δὲ παρὰ τούτων συμμαχίας ἀποτυχόντες οἱ κατὰ Κυρήνην τὴν χώραν τῆς Αἰγύπτου λεηλατοῦντες καὶ τοὺς ἐν αὐτῇ νομοὺς φθείροντες διετέλουν, ἡγουμένου αὐτῶν Λουκούα· ἐφ' οὓς ὁ αὐτοκράτωρ ἔπεμψεν Μάρκιον Τούρβωνα σὺν δυνάμει πεζῇ τε καὶ ναυτικῇ, ἔτι δὲ καὶ ἱππικῇ. (4) ὁ δὲ πολλαῖς μάχαις οὐκ ὀλίγῳ τε χρόνῳ τὸν πρὸς αὐτοὺς διαπονήσας πόλεμον, πολλὰς μυριάδας Ἰουδαίων, οὐ μόνον τῶν ἀπὸ Κυρήνης, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἀπ' Αἰγύπτου συναιρομένων Λουκούᾳ τῷ βασιλεῖ αὐτῶν, ἀναιρεῖ. (5) ὁ δὲ αὐτοκράτωρ ὑποπτεύσας καὶ τοὺς ἐν Μεσοποταμίᾳ Ἰουδαίους ἐπιθήσεσθαι τοῖς αὐτόθι, Λουσίῳ Κυήτῳ προσέταξεν ἐκκαθᾶραι τῆς ἐπαρχίας αὐτούς· ὃς καὶ παραταξάμενος, πάμπολυ πλῆθος τῶν αὐτόθι φονεύει, ἐφ' ᾧ κατορθώματι Ἰουδαίας ἡγεμὼν ὑπὸ τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος ἀνεδείχθη. ταῦτα καὶ Ἑλλήνων οἱ τὰ κατὰ τοὺς αὐτοὺς χρόνους γραφῇ παραδόντες αὐτοῖς ἱστόρησαν ῥήμασιν.*

7 *λούπου* BΛ *λούππου* ATERDM לופפוס Σ 14 *καὶ*[2] om. DM
15 *ἐν οὐκ* A 19 *ἐπιθέσθαι* BD / *Lysiae* Hieronymus
Λυσίαι Syncellus *λουκίω ΠΣΛ* / *κυήτω* A
קואטוס Σ *κούντω* BD[1] *κοίντω* ERDM *κοήντω* T
22 *αὐτοὺς* om. BD 23 *παραδόντες τοῖς μετέπειτα* BD

(1) In the course of the eighteenth year of the reign of the emperor [scil. Trajan] a rebellion of the Jews again broke out and destroyed a great multitude of them. (2) For both in Alexandria and in the rest of Egypt and especially in Cyrene, as though they had been seized by some terrible spirit of rebellion, they rushed into sedition against their Greek fellow citizens, and increasing the scope of the rebellion in the following year started a great war while Lupus was governor of all Egypt. (3) In the first engagement they happened to overcome the Greeks, who fled to Alexandria and captured and killed the Jews in

the city, but though thus losing the help of the townsmen, the Jews of Cyrene continued to plunder the country of Egypt and to ravage the districts in it under their leader Lucuas. The emperor sent against them Marcius Turbo with land and sea forces including cavalry. (4) He waged war vigorously against them in many battles for a considerable time and killed many thousands of Jews and not only those of Cyrene, but also those of Egypt who had rallied to Lucuas their king. (5) The emperor suspected that the Jews in Mesopotamia would also attack the inhabitants and ordered Lusius Quietus to clean them out of the province. He organized a force and murdered a great multitude of the Jews there, and for this success was appointed governor of Judaea by the emperor. The Greek authors who chronicle the same period have related this narrative in these very words. (trans. K. Lake, *LCL*)

VIII. DIONYSIUS PERIEGETES

First half of the second century C.E.

Dionysius Periegetes, the compiler of a school geography in verse, was evidently born in Alexandria, and wrote his Periegesis (Orbis Descriptio) *during the reign of Hadrian (117–138 C.E.).*[1] *However, one may look in vain in the work for much specific information relating to the times of this emperor.*

Dionysius gives brief descriptions of Africa and Europe and dwells somewhat more on Asia. While the Syrian and Phoenician peoples are included in his review, there is no mention of the names of Judaea or Palestine. Dionysius refers to cities on the Phoenician and Palestinian coasts as inhabited by Phoenicians, but does not keep to the proper geographical order; thus Gaza, which in other sources is never characterized as Phoenician, appears in Dionysius' work between Jaffa and places on the Phoenician coast, namely Elais (the identification of which is uncertain[2]*), Tyre, Berytus, Byblus and Sidon.*

The information given by Dionysius Periegetes seems dependent on older sources, deriving mainly from the Hellenistic period. Writers such as Eratosthenes and Strabo have been suggested for the descriptions of Asia and of the Phoenician and Palestinian coasts.[3] *The* Periegesis *had a considerable influence on later literature, as may be inferred from two Latin writers who translated or reworked Dionysius: Rufus Festus*

1 On the author and his work, see G. Leue, *Philologus*, XLII (1884), pp. 175 ff.; cf. E. Anhut, "In Dionysium Periegetam Quaestiones Criticae", Ph.D. Thesis, Königsberg 1888, pp. 1 ff.; U. Bernays, *Studien zu Dionysius Periegetes*, Heidelberg 1905, p. 6; Knaack, PW, V, pp. 915 ff.; J.O. Thomson, *History of Ancient Geography*, Cambridge 1948, p. 228.

2 See R. Dussaud, *Topographie historique de la Syrie antique et médiévale*, Paris 1927, p. 40. In Stephanus Byzantius, s.v. *Ἐλαία*, we read: *ἐστι καὶ πόλις Φοινίκης Ἐλαία μεταξὺ Τύρου καὶ Σιδῶνος, ὡς Φίλων*. Bernays' suggestion that in the name *Ἐλαία* there lurks a corruption of the name Ptolemais is hardly warranted; cf. Bernays, *op. cit.* (supra, n. 1), p. 68, n. 119.

3 For the view that the description of Asia is mainly derived from Eratosthenes, see Thomson, *loc. cit.* (supra, n. 1). For Strabo as the source for the description of the Palestinian and Phoenician coasts, see Bernays, *op. cit.* (supra, n. 1), pp. 68 f.

Avienus (Descriptio Orbis Terrae, *fourth century C.E.*),[4] *and Priscian* (Periegesis, c. *500 C.E.*).[5] *The Byzantine Eustathius even wrote scholia to Dionysius.*[6]

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Orbis Descriptio, ll. 910–912 — C. Müller, *Geographi Graeci Minores*, II, p. 160

οἵτ' ⟨scil. *οἱ Φοίνικες*⟩ *Ἰόπην καὶ Γάζαν, Ἐλαΐδα τ' ἐνναίουσι,*
καὶ Τύρον ὠγυγίην, Βηρυτοῦ τ' αἶαν ἐραννήν,
Βύβλον τ' ἀγχίαλον καὶ Σιδῶν' ἀνθεμόεσσαν.

Who [scil. the Phoenicians] inhabit Jaffa and Gaza, as well as Elais and archaic Tyre and the lovely land of Berytus, Byblus near the shore and flowery Sidon.

4 For the reworking of our passage by Festus Avienus, see P. van de Woestijne (ed.), *La Descriptio Orbis Terrae d'Avienus*, Brugge 1961, p. 60, ll. 1067 ff. = *Geographi Graeci Minores*, II, p. 186: "Populis Phoenicibus ergo urbs Iope, sterilisque dehinc habitatur Elais, Gazaque proceris adsurgens undique muris".

5 See Priscianus, *Periegesis*, ll. 852 f. = *Geographi Graeci Minores*, II, p. 197: "Hi muros Iopes Gazamque et Elaïda complent, antiquamque Tyrum, Beryti et moenia gratae". On the *Periegesis* of Priscian, see Helm, PW, XXII, pp. 2343 ff.

6 Cf. Eustathius' scholia to Dionysius Periegetes, *Orbis Terrae*, l. 910 = *Geographi Graeci Minores*, II, p. 375: *ὅτι πόλις Φοινίκης Ἰόπη, κληθεῖσα οὕτως ἢ ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰοῦς ἢ ἀπὸ Ἰόπης, θυγατρὸς μὲν Αἰόλου, γυναικὸς δὲ Κηφέως, ἀφ' οὗ καὶ Κηφῆνες οἱ Αἰθίοπες.*

IX. PSEUDO-ECPHANTUS

First to second centuries C.E.?

The dating of the Pythagorean treatises on kingship, and of the Pythagorean Doric pseudepigrapha in general, is still a matter for scholarly discussion. Most scholars seem to prefer the Roman imperial period to the Hellenistic age for the time in which the Pythagorean treatises on kingship were written.[1] *Nor is there any consensus over the place and environment which gave birth to these works. Both Alexandria and southern Italy with its Pythagorean associations and traditions have been suggested as the main candidates.*[2]

1 For a survey of the problem, see H. Thesleff, *An Introduction to the Pythagorean Writings of the Hellenistic Period*, Åbo 1961, pp. 30 ff. Thesleff favours the third century B.C.E. as the date of the composition of the Pythagorean treatises on kingship; see the conspectus, *ibid.*, pp. 114 f. The Hellenistic age has been also suggested by E.R. Goodenough, *YCS*, I (1928), pp. 55 ff.; for the view that Diotogenes and Ecphantus belonged to the early third century B.C.E., cf. W.W. Tarn, *Alexander the Great*, II, Cambridge 1948, p. 409.
Most scholars disagree with these conclusions, however. A strong case is made for the Roman imperial period by Delatte, who concludes that the Pythagorean treatises on kingship were written not before the first century C.E., and probably in the second century; see L. Delatte, *Les Traités de la Royauté d'Ecphante, Diotogène et Sthénidas*, Liège 1942, p. 108. Most reviewers of Delatte approve his dating. Thus, subsequently, Goodenough himself, see E.R. Goodenough, *Classical Philology*, XLIV (1949), p. 129; see also R. Marcus, *The Classical Journal*, XLIV (1949), p. 502; M.P. Charlesworth, *The Classical Review*, LXIII (1949), pp. 22 f. Yet Charlesworth still wonders to what section of the population these treatises in their Doric dialect were addressed. More recently, the time of the Severi is suggested by W. Burkert, in: *Pseudepigrapha*, I (*Fondation Hardt pour l'étude de l'antiquité classique, Entretiens*, XVIII, 1971), Vandoeuvres–Geneva 1972, pp. 53 ff. See also M. Hengel, in: *ibid.*, p. 98. Thesleff, who defends the Hellenistic date for the bulk of the Pythagorean pseudepigrapha, is ready to leave the date of Ecphantus open; see *ibid.*, p. 72.

2 For the view that the majority of the Pythagorean pseudepigrapha were written in Alexandria, see E. Zeller, *Die Philosophie der Griechen in ihrer geschichtlichen Entwicklung*, Vol. III, Part 2[5], Leipzig 1923, pp. 113 f. The dating suggested by Zeller is the first century B.C.E. and the first century

However, nobody will now maintain that the bulk of the Neo-Pythagorean literature was written by Alexandrian Jews, or that Jewish influence is paramount in it.[3] *It is rather Pythagoreanism that plays some part in Philo's thought,*[4] *and traces of it have been detected in Jewish religious and sectarian life in the Second Temple period.*[5] *Nevertheless, the impact of the Bible may perhaps be felt in the work of at least some of the Pythagorean writers. Thus we may presume that there is an echo of Genesis in a passage by Ocellus Lucanus (No. 40), and Burkert has recently called attention to two passages in Ecphantus' treatise on kingship that may have been influenced by Genesis.*[6] *The same scholar has also maintained that another Neo-Pythagorean writer, Onatas, was aware of the challenge of Jewish monotheism.*[7]

On the other hand, the influence of Philo on Pythagorean circles cannot be assessed with any degree of certainty. For we incur the danger of arguing in a vicious circle when we find similar ideas and expressions in both, since our view of the date of a particular Pythagorean work determines our conclusion whether it drew upon the Jewish philosopher, or, conversely, that it was Philo who was influenced by the Pythagorean writings. Moreover, it is quite natural to suppose that both Philo and some Pythagorean pseudepigraphic writers found a common source in writers who preceded them.[8]

C.E. For southern Italy, see Thesleff, *An Introduction to the Pythagorean Writings, op. cit.* (supra, n. 1), pp. 96 ff. For the view that the majority of the writers of the Pythagorean pseudepigrapha were from Italy and their purpose was to influence Rome, see Burkert, *op. cit.* (supra, n. 1), p. 41.

3 Thus in the older work of O.F. Gruppe, *Über die Fragmente des Archytas und der älteren Pythagoreer*, Berlin 1840, pp. 123 ff.

4 See E. Bréhier, *Les idées philosophiques et religieuses de Philon d'Alexandrie*, Paris 1925, p. 43, n. 1.

5 See I. Lévy, *La légende de Pythagore de Grèce en Palestine*, Paris 1927, pp. 211 ff.; N. Walter, *Der Thoraausleger Aristobulos*, Berlin 1964, pp. 166 ff.

6 See Burkert, *op. cit.* (supra, n. 1), pp. 49 ff.

7 See *ibid.*, p. 53. Onatas defends polytheism against the onslaught of strict monotheism in Stobaeus, I, 1:39 = H. Thesleff, *The Pythagorean Texts of the Hellenistic Period*, Åbo 1965, p. 139, ll. 11 ff.: *δοκέει δέ μοι καὶ μὴ εἷς εἶ μεν ὁ θεός, ἀλλ' εἷς μὲν ὁ μέγιστος καὶ καθυπέρτερος καὶ ὁ κρατέων τῶ παντός, τοὶ δ' ἄλλοι πολλοὶ διαφέροντες κατὰ δύναμιν.*

8 See Delatte, *op. cit.* (supra, n. 1), pp. 237 ff.; A. Aymard, *REA*, L (1948), p. 376; A.D. Nock, in: Charlesworth, *op. cit.* (supra, n. 1), p. 23, n. 1; Thesleff, *An Introduction to the Pythagorean Writings, op. cit.* (supra, n. 1), pp. 69 f.

Pseudo-Ecphantus

Following Burkert we include here two passages from Pseudo-Ecphantus for which it may be maintained with some plausibility that they contain reminiscences of Genesis. The first passage (No. 564a) refers to the fall of man from his pure nature by his transmigration to the earth. From this plight he would hardly have been released but for the fact that some divine spirit attached him to the Eternal Being. The second passage (No. 564b) states that while man is the best among earthly creatures, yet the king is still more divine than ordinary man, for the king has been fashioned by the best artisan, taking himself as a model.

564a

De Regno, apud: Stobaeus, IV, 6:22 — Hense = *Les traités de la Royauté d'Ecphante, Diotogène et Sthénidas*, ed. L. Delatte, Liège 1942, p. 25 = *The Pythagorean Texts of the Hellenistic Period*, ed. H. Thesleff, Åbo 1965, p. 79

Ἐκφάντου ἐκ τοῦ Περὶ βασιλείας. Ἐπὶ δὲ γᾶς ἄνθρωποι ἀπῳκισμένον χρῆμα καὶ πολὺ τᾶς καθαρωτέρας φύσιος ἐλαττούμενον καὶ πολλᾷ τᾷ γᾷ βαρυνόμενον, ὡς ἀπὸ τᾶς μητρὸς αὐτῷ μόγις ἐπᾶρθαι, αἰ μὴ θεομοιρής τις ἐμπνοίησις ἀιδίῳ ζῴῳ συνᾶψεν αὐτὸ τῷ κρείσσονι μέρει δεικνῦσα τὰν
5 *ἱερὰν τῶ γεννάτορος πότοψιν...*

1 *ἄνθρωποι* codd. *ἄνθρωπος* Delatte 2 *καθαρωτάτας* A
3 *μητρὸς* SA 4 *ἀιδίῳ* Delatte *ἐλέῳ* SM *ἐλαίῳ* A / *αὐτῷ* SA

From the treatise "On Kingship" by Ecphantus. On the earth man is an immigrant, falling much short of his purer nature, and he is weighted down by the greatness of the earth. Thus he would have been raised from his mother only with difficulty but for some sort of divine inspiration, which attached him to the eternal living being, displaying to his better part the holy aspect of the Creator.

ἀπῳκισμένον χρῆμα: Ecphantus speaks of man on earth as an immigrant and stranger. Man consists of both body and soul, and while the body is earthly the soul is divine.
αἰ μὴ θεομοιρής τις ἐμπνοίησις ἀιδίῳ ζῴῳ συνᾶψεν: This suggests Gen. ii:7: *καὶ ἔπλασεν ὁ θεὸς τὸν ἄνθρωπον χοῦν ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς καὶ ἐνεφύσησεν εἰς τὸ πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ πνοὴν ζωῆς, καὶ ἐγένετο ὁ ἄνθρωπος εἰς ψυχὴν ζῶσαν*; see Burkert, *op. cit.* (supra, p. 33, n. 1), pp. 49 f. Cf. Philo, *De Opificio Mundi*, 135; idem, *Legum Allegoriae*, I, 38: *ἐπεὶ πῶς ἂν ἐνόησεν ἡ ψυχὴ θεόν, εἰ μὴ ἐνέπνευσε καὶ ἥψατο αὐτῆς κατὰ δύναμιν*; idem, *Quod Deterius Potiori Insidiari Soleat*, 86: *ἄνωθεν ἐνέπνει τῆς ἰδίου θειότητος.*

564b

De Regno, apud: Stobaeus, IV, 7:64 — Hense = Delatte, *op. cit.*, pp. 27 f. = Thesleff, *op. cit.*, pp. 79 f.

Ἐν δὲ τᾷ γᾷ καὶ παρ' ἁμῖν ἀριστοφυέστατον μὲν ἄνθρωπος, θειότερον δ' ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐν τᾷ κοινᾷ φύσει πλεονεκτῶν τῶ κρέσσονος, τὸ μὲν σκᾶνος τοῖς λοιποῖς ὅμοιος, οἷα γεγονὼς ἐκ τᾶς αὐτᾶς ὕλας, ὕπὸ τεχνίτα δ' εἰργασμένος λῴστω, ὅς ἐτεχνίτευσεν αὐτὸν ἀρχετύπῳ χρώμενος ἑαυτῷ.

1 *ἁμῖν* Gaisford *ἁμῶν* SM *ἡμῶν* A

5 *κατασκεύασμα δὴ ὧν ὁ βασιλεὺς ἓν καὶ μόνον ἐντὶ οἷα τύπος τῶ ἀνωτέρω βασιλέως, τῷ μὲν πεποιηκότι γνώριμον ἀεί, τοῖς δ' ἀρχομένοις ὡς ἐν φωτὶ τᾷ βασιλείᾳ βλεπόμενον.*

5 *δὴ ὧν* Gesner *δἰ ὅν* codd. / *ἐντὶ οἷα τύπος* Meineke *ἐν οἷς τινος* codd *ἐννοητικὸν* Delatte

On the earth and among us man has the best nature of all; however the king is more divine, and within the common nature has a larger share of the good. In his body he is similar to the others, as having come into being out of the same hyle, but he was made by the best craftsman, who wrought him using himself as a model. Thus the king is the one and only creature to represent the king of heaven, being always known to his Creator and by those ruled by himself seen in his royalty as if in light.

ὃς ἐτεχνίτευσεν αὐτὸν ἀρχετύπῳ χρώμενος ἑαυτῷ: This again seems to be reminiscent of Genesis; cf. Gen. i:26–27. The concept of the creation of man in the image of God is missing from the Greek line of thought as found in Diogenes Laertius, VI, 51: *τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς ἄνδρας θεῶν εἰκόνας εἶναι*; see Burkert, *op. cit.* (supra, p. 33, n. 1), p. 52, n. 2. It is noteworthy that Ecphantus displays the idea that only kings are created in the image of God, and not man in general. In this he differs from the view of "Eurysus the Pythagorean", adduced by Clement of Alexandria, *Stromata*, V, 5:29:1–2: *ἄξιον ἡγοῦμαι καὶ τὴν Εὐρύσου τοῦ Πυθαγορείου παραθέσθαι φωνὴν οὕτως ἔχουσαν, ὃς ἐν τῷ Περὶ τύχας τὸν δημιουργὸν φήσας αὐτῷ χρώμενον παραδείγματι ποιῆσαι τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἐπήγαγεν· τὸ δὲ σκᾶνος λοιποῖς ὅμοιον, οἷα γεγονὸς ἐκ τᾶς αὐτᾶς ὕλας, ὑπὸ τεχνίτα δὲ εἰργασμένον λώστω, ὃς ἐτεχνίτευσεν αὐτὸ ἀρχετύπῳ χρώμενος ἑαυτῷ.* For discussion of the passage relating to Eurysus (= Eurytus), see Delatte, *op. cit.* (supra, p. 33, n. 1), pp. 177 ff.; Thesleff, *op. cit.* (supra, p. 33, n. 1), pp. 69 f.; Burkert, *op. cit.* (supra, p. 33, n. 1), p. 52.

Ecphantus apparently reshaped an idea found in an earlier Pythagorean work to suit his glorification of kingship. A less likely interpretation is that Clement derived his quotation from a list of quotations, and took as the lemma *Εὐρύτου περὶ τύχας* instead of *Ἐκφάντου περὶ βασιλείας*; see Thesleff, *op. cit.*, p. 69, n. 4. Philo naturally holds the view that man was created in the image of God; see Delatte, *op. cit.*, pp. 179 f.

X. REFERENCES TO MOSES BY ANCIENT GREEK AUTHORS, AS QUOTED IN THE *COHORTATIO AD GENTILES*

Second half of the third century C.E.?

The composition of the apologetic work Cohortatio ad Gentiles *is attributed to Justin.*[1] *However, it was written in the third century C.E., presumably in the second half of the century.*[2] *The author makes the striking statement in it that the works of some very ancient Greek writers contained references to Moses, the leader of the Jews, as to one who had lived in olden times. The* Cohortatio *adduces here seven authorities, divided into three groups. In the last group are two Jewish writers, Philo and Josephus. The second consists of the two chronographers Castor and Thallus, of whom the latter is sometimes considered to have been a Samaritan,*[3] *and Alexander Polyhistor. However, the two writers heading the list are Hellanicus (fifth century B.C.E.) and Philochorus (fourth to third centuries B.C.E.), both of whom are defined as writers on Athens. If the statement in the* Cohortatio *concerning the mention of Moses by Hellanicus and Philochorus is indeed true, then Hellanicus, the contemporary of Herodotus, would have been the first Greek writer to refer to Moses and to Jews, and in a much more explicit manner than Herodotus.*

However acceptance of this statement in the Cohortatio *would raise*

1 For a long time it has been the *communis opinio* of scholars that the *Cohortatio* was not written by Justin; see O. Bardenhewer, *Geschichte der altkirchlichen Literatur*, I, Freiburg im Breisgau 1913, pp. 232 ff.; R.M. Grant, *HTR*, LI (1958), pp. 128 ff.; J. Quasten, *Patrology*, I, Utrecht–Brussels 1949, p. 205. The last attempt to defend the attribution of the *Cohortatio* to Justin by Widmann miscarried; see W. Widmann, *Die Echtheit der Mahnrede Justins d. M. an die Heiden*, Mainz 1902.

2 See A. Puech, in: *Mélanges Henri Weil*, Paris 1898, pp. 395 ff.; A. Harnack, *Geschichte der altchristlichen Litteratur bis Eusebius*, Vol. II, Part 2, Leipzig 1904, pp. 151 ff., 545 ff.; Bardenhewer, *op. cit.* (supra, n. 1), p. 234.

3 So, e.g., by Schürer, III, p. 495; cf. E. Täubler, *Rhein. Museum*, NS, LXXI (1916), pp. 572 ff. Yet this is far from certain; see *F. Gr. Hist.*, II, D, pp. 835 f.; cf. H.A. Rigg, *HTR*, XXXIV (1941), pp. 111 ff.

insurmountable difficulties. First, it has to be shown why Jewish-Hellenistic and Christian apologists prior to the Cohortatio, *who took so much trouble in searching out ancient Greek evidence to prove the antiquity of the Jews, should wait until the second half of the third century to quote the evidence of Hellanicus and Philochorus. Moreover, writers like Josephus and Clement of Alexandria refer to Hellanicus, without seeming to know that he mentioned Moses.*[4] *Secondly, the reference of* Cohortatio *to ancient Greek historians should be coupled with a passage from the Christian chronographer Africanus, as quoted by Eusebius,* Praeparatio Evangelica, *X, 10: 7–9: τὰς δὲ πρὸ τούτων ὡδὶ πως τῆς Ἀττικῆς χρονογραφίας ἀριθμουμένης, ἀπὸ Ὠγύγου τοῦ παρ' ἐκείνοις αὐτόχθονος πιστευθέντος, ἐφ' οὗ γέγονεν ὁ μέγας καὶ πρῶτος ἐν τῇ Ἀττικῇ κατακλυσμός, Φορωνέως Ἀργείων βασιλεύοντος, ὡς Ἀκουσίλαος ἱστορεῖ, μέχρι πρώτης Ὀλυμπιάδος ὁπόθεν Ἕλληνες ἀκριβοῦν τοὺς χρόνους ἐνόμισαν, ἔτη συνάγεται χίλια εἴκοσιν, ὡς καὶ τοῖς προειρημένοις συμφωνεῖ καὶ τοῖς ἑξῆς δειχθήσεται. (8) ταῦτα γὰρ ⟨οἱ τὰ⟩ Ἀθηναίων ἱστοροῦντες, Ἑλλάνικός τε καὶ Φιλόχορος, οἱ τὰς Ἀτθίδας, οἵ τε τὰ Σύρια Κάστωρ καὶ Θαλλὸς καὶ ⟨ὁ⟩ τὰ πάντων Διόδωρος ὁ τὰς Βιβλιοθήκας, Ἀλέξανδρός τε ὁ Πολυΐστωρ καί τινες ⟨οἱ⟩ τῶν καθ' ἡμᾶς ἀκριβέστερον ἐμνήσθησαν καὶ τῶν Ἀττικῶν ἁπάντων. Africanus lists here all the Greek historians mentioned in the* Cohortatio, *adding to them Diodorus, who indeed is mentioned later in the work, but omitting the Jewish writers. However, what Africanus wants to prove here is not that these Greek writers knew about Moses, who is not referred to in this specific connection, but a chronological question, namely that a certain number of years had passed from the time of Ogygos to the first Olympiad. Though Africanus here bases himself on Hellanicus and Philochorus, among others, it is highly doubtful whether those historians worked upon such a chronological scheme, and it seems more likely that Africanus derives his computation from Alexander Polyhistor, listed last by him.*[5]

It seems almost certain that the Cohortatio *in general draws largely upon Africanus.*[6] *In the passage under discussion the similarity*

4 See Josephus, *Contra Apionem*, I, 16; Clemens Alexandrinus, *Stromata*, I, 15 : 72 : 2; see Gager, p. 26, n. 3.

5 See *F. Gr. Hist.*, IIIb (Suppl.), Text, pp. 380 ff., especially p. 387.

6 It is not Africanus who refers to the mention of Moses by Hellanicus, but the author of the *Cohortatio* who drew on Africanus, contrary to the somewhat misleading statement of L. Pearson, *Early Ionian Historians*,

between the Cohortatio *and the quotation from Africanus is obvious. If we assume, however, that it was the other way round, and that Africanus had before his eyes either the* Cohortatio *or a source common to both, which contained the reference to Moses by Hellanicus and Philochorus, it is hardly imaginable that he would have completely ignored their remarks. Thus we have to conclude without hesitation that the allusion in the* Cohortatio *is an arbitrary elaboration of Africanus' statement.*

In considering the authenticity of the allusions in the Cohortatio, *we also have to take into consideration its general character as a work in the old tradition of Jewish and Christian apologetics. The authors of these writings maintained not only the antiquity of Moses, but also the dependence of Greek thought and literature on Jewish sources. The* Cohortatio *includes some of the most glaring forgeries of Jewish-Hellenistic literature (verses written by Jews and attributed to Orpheus and Sophocles), and in one case has replaced the name of the Egyptian king and legislator Mneues by that of Moses.*[7] *To sum up, we have to relegate the statement of the* Cohortatio *as to the evidence of Hellanicus and Philochorus about Moses to the realm of apologetic invention. Nor has what the* Cohortatio *relates about Castor, Thallus and Alexander Polyhistor any independent value, though the*

Oxford 1939, p. 212: "Equally worthy of mention and much less reliable are the remarks of Africanus and Cyrillus that Hellanicus mentioned Moses". For Africanus as the source, see J. Donaldson, *A Critical History of Christian Literature and Doctrine*, II, London 1866, pp. 102 ff.; E. Schürer, *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*, II (1878), pp. 319 ff.; *F. Gr. Hist.*, IIIb (Suppl.), Notes, p. 278; Harnack, *op. cit.* (supra, n. 2), p. 154. Harnack also answers the counter-argumentation of W. Gaul, "Die Abfassungsverhältnisse der pseudojustinischen Cohortatio ad Graecos", Ph.D. Thesis, Giessen 1902, pp. 73 ff. Casamassa still clings to the view, without adducing any new arguments, that Africanus used the *Cohortatio* for his chronographical work, and thus dates the *Cohortatio* prior to 221 C.E.; see A. Casamassa, "Gli apologisti greci", *Lateranum*, NS, IX–X (1944), p. 97.

7 See *Cohortatio ad Gentiles*, 9: *Διόδωρος ... φήσας παρὰ τῶν ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ ἱερέων μεμαθηκέναι ὅτι ἀρχαῖος καὶ πρῶτος νομοθέτης Μωϋσῆς γέγονεν, αὐταῖς λέξεσιν οὕτω περὶ αὐτοῦ γέγραφε ... πεῖσαί φασιν ἐγγράφοις νόμοις πρῶτον χρῆσθαι τὰ πλήθη Μωυσῆν, ἄνδρα καὶ τῇ ψυχῇ μέγαν καὶ τῷ βίῳ ἱκανώτατον μνημονευόμενον*, where *Μωυσῆν* is inserted instead of *Μνεύην*; see Diodorus, I, 94:1. Among the various legislators to whose company he belongs, according to Diodorus, he is listed last, after Minos, Zathraustes and Zalmoxis.

last-mentioned writer referred not a few times to Moses in his compilations (cf. Nos. 51a, 52).

In an entirely different category is what Clement quotes in the name of the Hellenistic historian Leon of Pella; see Clemens Alexandrinus, Stromata, *I, 21:106:3* (= *Eusebius,* Praeparatio Evangelica, *X, 12:23* = F.Gr.Hist., *III, C659, F7*): *Λέων δὲ ὁ τὰ περὶ τῶν κατ' Αἴγυπτον θεῶν πραγματευσάμενος τὴν Ἶσιν ὑπὸ Ἑλλήνων Δήμητρα καλεῖσθαί φησιν, ἣ κατὰ Λυγκέα γίνεται ἑνδεκάτῃ ὕστερον Μωυσέως γενεᾷ. Here only the statement that Isis was called Demeter by the Greeks derives from the historian, while the succeeding comment is by Clement, who thus explains what he considers is implied by Leon's statement. See also Clemens Alexandrinus,* Stromata, *I, 21:136:3–5: (3) Ἄνωθεν οὖν ἀπὸ Μωυσέως συναγάγωμεν τὴν καθ' Ἕλληνας χρονογραφίαν· ἀπὸ τῆς Μωυσέως γενέσεως ἐπὶ τὴν ἐξ Αἰγύπτου τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἔξοδον ἔτη ὀγδοήκοντα καὶ τὰ μέχρι τῆς τελευτῆς αὐτοῦ ἄλλα τεσσαράκοντα· γίνεται ἡ ἔξοδος κατὰ Ἶναχον πρὸ τῆς Σωθιακῆς περιόδου ἐξελθόντος ἀπ' Αἰγύπτου Μωυσέως ἔτεσι πρότερον τριακοσίοις τεσσαράκοντα ε' (4) ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς Μωυσέως στρατηγίας καὶ Ἰνάχου ἐπὶ τὸν Δευκαλίωνος κατακλυσμόν, τὴν δευτέραν λέγω ἐπομβρίαν, καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν Φαέθοντος ἐμπρησμόν, ἃ δὴ συμβαίνει κατὰ Κρότωπον, γενεαὶ ★ τεσσαράκοντα ἀριθμοῦνται· εἰς μέντοι τὰ ἑκατὸν ἔτη τρεῖς ἐγκαταλέγονται γενεαί. (5) ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ κατακλυσμοῦ ἐπὶ τὸν Ἶδης ἐμπρησμὸν καὶ τὴν εὕρεσιν τοῦ σιδήρου καὶ Ἰδαίους δακτύλους ἔτη ἑβδομήκοντα τρία, ὥς φησι Θράσυλλος. Here only §5 derives from Thrasyllus, and not §§3–4 with their references to Moses and the Exodus; see also* F.Gr.Hist., *II, D, p. 830.*

Pseudo-Iustinus, *Cohortatio ad Gentiles*, 9 — J.C.T. Otto, *Iustini Opera*, Jena 1879, p. 44 = *PG*, VI, Col. 257 = *F.Gr.Hist.*, III, B323a, F10b = *ibid.*, B328, F92b = *ibid.*, II, B256, F5b = *ibid.*, III, A273, F101b = *ibid.*, I, 4, F47b

Καὶ οἱ τὰ Ἀθηναίων δὲ ἱστοροῦντες, Ἑλλάνικός τε καὶ Φιλόχορος ὁ τὰς Ἀτθίδας, Κάστωρ τε καὶ Θαλλὸς καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ Πολυΐστωρ, ἔτι δὲ καὶ οἱ σοφώτατοι Φίλων τε καὶ Ἰώσηπος, οἱ τὰ κατὰ Ἰουδαίους ἱστορήσαντες, ὡς σφόδρα ἀρχαίου καὶ παλαιοῦ τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἄρχοντος Μωυσέως μέμνηνται.

And the writers of the Athenian Atthides, Hellanicus and Philochorus, as well as Castor and Thallus and Alexander Polyhistor, and moreover the very wise Philo and Josephus, the historians of the Jews, have mentioned Moses as a very ancient and old leader of the Jews.

XI. HIEROCLES

Beginning of the fourth century C.E.

From patristic literature (Lactantius, Eusebius) we know of the existence and literary activity of the anti-Christian Greek pagan polemicist, Hierocles, who wrote a work addressed to Christians and titled by himself Philalethes. *Presumably many of his arguments were influenced by the more famous work of Celsus, and the very name* Philalethes *reminds one of the* Alethes Logos *of Celsus (see above also on Hierocles, Vol. II, pp. 425 f., n. 8). Hierocles is to be identified with Sossianus Hierocles, a Roman administrator who acted both as praeses of Bithynia, and in that capacity persecuted the Christians (303 C.E.), and as prefect of Egypt (310–311 C.E.).*[1]

Eusebius' reply to Hierocles confined itself to the comparison drawn by the latter between Jesus and Apollonius of Tyana.[2] *Eusebius, as he himself asserts, abstained from dealing with other parts of Hierocles' polemical treatise, since its arguments were refuted in advance by the eight books written by Origen against Celsus. However, we learn more of the nature of Hierocles' polemic from Lactantius. According to Lactantius, Hierocles strove to expose the falsehood of the sacred scripture by proving it self-contradictory. With this object in his mind he adduced many details and displayed erudition, as if he had been a Christian himself* (Institutiones Divinae, *V, 2:14).*

Whether Hierocles' criticism of the sacred scripture included the Old Testament as well as the New Testament is not stated expressly by Lactantius, but we may assume that from what we know of the procedure of Celsus, Porphyry and later Julian. Naturally in his

1 Cf. *PLRE*, I, p. 432; *P. Oxy.*, XLIII, No. 3120 (with J.R. Rea's notes on p. 80); H. Maehler in: *Collectanea Papyrologica — Texts published in honor of H.C. Youtie*, Bonn 1976 (ed. A.E. Hanson), pp. 527 ff.; T.D. Barnes, *Constantine and Eusebius*, Cambridge (Mass.) 1981, pp. 164 f.; 360, n. 4.

2 See *PG*, XXII, cols. 795 ff.; C.L. Kayser's edition of *Philostratus*, I, pp. 369 ff.; F.C. Conybeare's edition of *The Life of Apollonius of Tyana*, Vol. II of *LCL*, pp. 484 ff.

attack on Christians and their sacred writings Hierocles had sometimes to refer to Jews and their creed. Yet the only mention of Jews in Lactantius' description of Hierocles' work bears on the relations between Jesus and Jews; there Jesus emerges as a leader of a robber gang, after running away from Jews.[3]

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Philalethes, apud: Lactantius, *Divinae Institutiones* V, 3:4 (Monat) = *PL*, VI, col. 557

Ipsum autem Christum, affirmavit (scil. Hierocles), a Iudaeis fugatum collecta nongentorum hominum manu latrocinia fecisse.

But he (scil. Hierocles) maintained that Christus himself, after he had been put to flight by the Jews, collected a gang of nine hundred men and committed robberies.

3 See R. Eisler, *Ἰησοῦς βασιλεὺς οὐ βασιλεύσας*, II, Heidelberg 1930, p. 253, n. 3. For older bibliography before the discovery and interpretation of the relevant papyri, see Juster, I, p. 37; P. de Labriolle, *La réaction païenne*, Paris 1934, pp. 306 ff.; J. Quasten, *Patrology*, III, Utrecht 1960, pp. 333 f.

XII. JULIUS HONORIUS

Fourth century C.E.

It is not known whether Julius Honorius was a pagan or a Christian, and his Cosmographia, *a meagre geographical survey, has not much to show of interest.*[1] *However, among the seas of the East enumerated there the Palestinian lakes, the Sea of Tiberias and the Asphaltite Sea, occupy a rather disproportionate part. On the other hand, there is no mention of Jerusalem, or any other town of Judaea or Galilee, including even Tiberias, which was of great importance in Julius' day. Jordan becomes the name of a town, while of the Palestinian towns, Caesarea, Ashkelon and Scythopolis are referred to.*

There is another recension of the Cosmographia *which clearly bears the imprint of a Christian reworking, as emerges from the mention of the rivers Phison and Geon, the castra Moysea, horrea Ioseph, Sodoma and Gomorra, Bethulia and Sinai.*[2]

1 On Julius Honorius and the *Cosmographia*, see A. Riese, *Geographi Latini Minores*, Oberhollabrunn 1878, Prolegomena, pp. XIX ff.; W. Kubitschek, *Wiener Studien*, VII (1885), pp. 1 ff.; idem, PW, X, pp. 614 ff.; J.O. Thomson, *History of Ancient Geography*, Cambridge 1948, pp. 381 f.

2 See Riese, *op. cit.* (supra, n. 1), pp. 38, 48, 51, 53.

(2) Ergo oceanus orientalis haec maria habet: mare Caspium, mare Persicum, mare Tiberiadem, mare Asphaltitis, hoc est Mare Mortuum, mare Rubrum, mare Arabicum, quem sinum Arabicum dicunt, mare Carpathium ... (6) Palmyra oppidum, Damascos oppidum, Iordanes oppidum, Heliupolis oppidum, Apamia oppidum, Antiochia oppidum, Daphne oppidum, Laudicia oppidum, Byblos oppidum, Berytos oppidum, Sidona oppidum, Tyros oppidum, Ptolomais oppidum, Caesarea oppidum, Ascalona oppidum, Gaza oppidum, Ostracine oppidum, Scythopolis oppidum.

(2) Thus the eastern ocean contains the following seas: the Caspian sea, the Persian sea, the sea of Tiberias, the sea of Asphalt, that is the Dead Sea, the Red sea, the Arabian sea, which is called the Arabian gulf, the Carpathian sea ... (6) The town of Palmyra, the town of Damascos, the town of Iordanes, the town of Heliupolis, the town of Apamia, the town of Antiochia, the town of Daphne, the town of Laudicia, the town of Byblos, the town of Berytos, the town of Sidona, the town of Tyros, the town of Ptolomais, the town of Caesarea, the town of Ascalona, the town of Gaza, the town of Ostracine, the town of Scythopolis.

XIII. CHARISIUS

Fourth century C.E.

The Greek and Latin grammarians of Late Antiquity felt called upon to comment on Hebraic names. Charisius, whose religion is not known, asserts that the names of Adam and Abraham are not to be declined according to the grammatical rules for Latin or Greek case endings.

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Charisius, *Ars Grammatica*, I, 17 — Barwick, p. 151 = H. Keil, *Grammatici Latini*, I, Leipzig 1857, p. 118

Adam ὁ πρωτόπλαστος monoptoton est, proin Latine ut et Graece. Abraham adaeque monoptoton esse censeto.

Adam, the first-created, is a noun which has but one case ending, in both Latin and Greek. Abraham also should be considered a noun of but one case ending.

For similar passages in the works of Latin grammarians, see [Probus] *Instituta Artium* (ed. Keil), in: H. Keil (ed.), *Grammatici Latini*, IV, Leipzig 1864, p. 129: "Quaeritur, horum Samuelium an horum Samuelum dicatur"; or the undoubtedly Christian Priscianus, *Institutiones Grammaticae*, VII, 30 (ed. Hertz), in: Keil, *op. cit.*, II, 1855, p. 312: "In 'el' productam barbara, ut 'hic Daniel huius Danielis', 'Michael Michaelis', 'Nechamel Nechamelis'"; *Institutiones Grammaticae*, V, 11, in: Keil, *op. cit.*, pp. 147 f.: "et barbara 'Suthul', 'Muthul' ... cum lingua Poenorum, quae Chaldaeae, vel Hebraeae similis est et Syrae, non habeat genus neutrum"; *Institutiones Grammaticae*, VI, 61, in: Keil, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 245 f.: "Herodes Herodae" et "Herodis"; Pompeius, *Commentum Artis Donati* (ed. Keil), in: Keil, *op. cit.*, V, 1868, p. 177: "quaerebatur Pascha cuius esset numeri"; *Appendix Probi* (ed. Keil), in: Keil, *op. cit.*, IV, 1864, p. 196: "nomina generis neutri semper pluralis numeri: arma is ... sabbata is".

XIV. SYNESIUS

c. 365–413/414 C.E.

Synesius belonged to a local noble Hellenic family of Cyrenaica. He acquired a deep knowledge of Greek culture and at Alexandria was a pupil of the Neoplatonic philosopher Hypatia.[1] *In the years 399–402 he stayed at Constantinople, where he had been sent on a mission by his fellow-citizens of Cyrene. On his return from Constantinople he spent some time at Alexandria and married a Christian there, though he himself apparently did not become Christian at that time.*[2]

Synesius returned to Cyrene from Alexandria by sea in 404 C.E.[3] *In 410 or 411 he consented to become bishop of Cyrene,*[4] *though even then his attachment to Christianity was not whole-hearted, and he continued to cherish misgivings concerning some of its dogmas, remaining a Hellene at heart and a Neoplatonist until the end of his days.*

Synesius had occasion to give vent to his feelings about Jews in a letter addressed to his brother Euoptius describing his sea-voyage from Alexandria to Cyrene.[5] *Written in the pre-Christian period of the life of Synesius, the letter contains allusions to Homer and Sophocles, and*

1 See J. Bregman, *California Studies in Classical Antiquity*, VII (1974), pp. 55 ff.; J. Vogt, *Grazer Beiträge*, IV (1975), pp. 295 ff.; H.I. Marrou, in: A. Momigliano (ed.), *The Conflict between Paganism and Christianity in the Fourth Century*, Oxford 1963, pp. 126 ff.

2 For a suggestion that Synesius had already been a catechumen, see Marrou, *op. cit.* (supra, n. 1), p. 141.

3 For the date, see O. Seeck, *Philologus*, LII (1894), p. 462; D. Roques, *REG*, XC (1977), pp. 263 ff. Roques dates the letter to October 407. The date of 402 is defended by C. Lacombrade, *REG*, XCI (1978), pp. 564 ff.

4 See G. Grützmacher, *Synesios von Kyrene*, Leipzig 1913, p. 131; O. Bardenhewer, *Geschichte der altkirchlichen Literatur*, IV, Freiburg im Breisgau 1924, p. 111; Campenhausen, PW, Ser. 2, IV, p. 1363. See also R.G. Goodchild, *Libyan Studies*, London 1976, pp. 239 ff.

5 On this letter, see R. Volkmann, *Synesius von Cyrene*, Berlin 1869, pp. 76 ff.; Grützmacher, *op. cit.* (supra, n. 4), pp. 74 ff.; C. Lacombrade, *Synésios de Cyrène*, Paris 1951, pp. 132 ff.; L. Casson, *The American Neptune*, XII (1952), pp. 294 ff.; A.H.M. Jones, *The Later Roman Empire*, II, Oxford 1964, pp. 842 f.; J. Rougé, *Recherches sur l'organisation du commerce maritime en Méditerranée sous l'empire romain*, Paris 1966, p. 313; L. Casson, *Ships and Seamanship in the Ancient World*, Princeton 1971, pp. 268 f.

Synesius refers not to Jesus or to God in general, but to the god of the philosophers (ὄμνυμί σοι θεὸν ὃν φιλοσοφία πρεσβεύει).

Synesius states that the captain of the ship was a Jew called Amarantus, and at least six of the twelve members of the crew were Jews as well.[6] *It seems that the Jews were the more experienced among the sailors, as Synesius stresses the inexperience of the others who were a collection of peasants, only recently taken to sea and suffering from physical defects. The ship was a small one.*[7] *It carried more than fifty passengers, of whom a third were women, separated from the men by a screen.*

Amarantus and his Jewish sailors might have come from Alexandria, whose Jewish community again increased in numbers and influence in the period of the late Roman empire. Synesius is not too sympathetic to the Jewish captain. He is represented in the letter as a man in financial straits, who is even eager to die because of this. The ship possessed only a single anchor since the second anchor had been sold, and the spare sail was in the hands of a pawnbroker. Synesius is also sceptical of Amarantus' navigational wisdom and of the explanations he gave to justify his conduct. He said that he had foreseen the storm and sought the open sea, because if he had hugged the shore the ship would have been dashed on the rocks of the coast. At least on this point a modern specialist has rehabilitated the navigational judgement and technical proficiency of Amarantus.[8]

Synesius is also aroused to indignation by the Jewish captain's meticulous observance of the Sabbath laws. On Friday night he left off the rudder, and no threats by the soldiers on board could move "the Maccabean" to change his mind. He returned to his task only when he was convinced that the ship was in real danger.

In his antipathy towards Jews Synesius resembles his contemporary, the western aristocrat Rutilius Namatianus, differing markedly from the Antiochene Libanius. The most striking statement of Synesius is that the Jews consider it an expression of piety to cause the deaths of as many Greeks as possible: Ἰουδαῖοι, γένος ἔκσπονδον, καὶ εὐσεβεῖν ἀναπεπεισμένον ἢν ὅτι πλείστους ἄνδρας Ἕλληνας ἀποθανεῖν αἴτιοι γένωνται. This statement, one of the most extreme charges of

6 On Jewish seamen and *navicularii*, see Juster, II, pp. 264 f.; Rougé, *op. cit.* (supra, n. 5); *Codex Theodosianus*, XIII, 5 : 18 (390 C.E.).

7 See Casson, *Ships and Seamanship*, *op. cit.* (supra, n. 5), p. 268.

8 See the argumentation of Casson, *ibid.*, n. 1.

Jewish misanthropy to be made in Antiquity, may be accounted for by the old antagonism between Jews and Greeks in Cyrene. It went back to the fierce Jewish revolt under Trajan when many thousands of the Greek inhabitants of Cyrenaica suffered death at the hands of the Jewish rebels, as related by Cassius Dio, LXVIII, 32 (No. 437).

The Jews, together with the Egyptians, are mentioned by Synesius in another of his letters; cf. Epistulae, *121: καὶ γὰρ Αἰγύπτιοι, καὶ τὸ Ἑβραίων γένος χρόνον συχνὸν ὑπὸ τῶν ἱερέων ἐβασιλεύθησαν.*[9] *On the other hand, there is no reason to assume that the Abramios of* Epistulae, *99, is a Jew.*[10] *At that time he is more likely to have been a Christian. Neither is the Sabbatius of* Epistulae, *60, necessarily a Jew. For the reported mention of the Essenes by Dio Chrysostom in Synesius,* Vita Dionis, *see No. 251.*

9 This letter is dated to 407 C.E. by Seeck, *op. cit.* (supra, n. 3), p. 483.

10 Thus, e.g., W.S. Crawford, *Synesius the Hellene*, London 1901, p. 403.

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Epistolae, V — Garzya = IV Hercher = *PG*, LXVI, Cols. 1328 ff.

Τῷ ἀδελφῷ

Λύσαντες ἐκ Βενδιδείου πρὸ δείλης ἑῴας, μόλις ὑπὲρ μεσοῦσαν ἡμέραν τὸν Φάριον Μύρμηκα παρηλλάξαμεν, δίς που καὶ τρὶς ἐνσχεθείσης τῆς νεὼς τῷ τοῦ λιμένος ἐδάφει, εὐθὺς μὲν οὖν καὶ τοῦτο κακὸς οἰωνὸς ἐδόκει, καὶ σοφὸν ἦν ἀποβῆναι νεὼς ἐκ πρώτης ἀφετηρίας οὐκ εὐτυχοῦς· ἀλλὰ φυγεῖν παρ' ὑμῖν ἔγκλημα δειλίας ᾐσχύνθημεν, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ⟨Ilias, VII, l. 217⟩ οὔπως ἔτι ἔσκεν ὑποτρέσαι οὐδ' ἀναδῦναι. ὥστε, κἄν τι καὶ συμβαίη, δι' ὑμᾶς ἀπολούμεθα. καίτοι τί δεινὸν ἦν ὑμᾶς τε γελᾶν καὶ ἡμᾶς ἔξω κινδύνων ἑστάναι; ἀλλὰ τῷ Ἐπιμηθεῖ, φασί, «τὸ μὲν μέλειν οὐκ ἦν, τὸ μεταμέλειν δ' ἐνῆν» ὥσπερ ἡμῖν· τότε γὰρ ἐξὸν σῴζεσθαι, νῦν πρὸς ἐρήμοις ἀκταῖς συναυλίαν ὀλοφυρόμεθα, καὶ πρὸς Ἀλεξάνδρειαν ὁρῶντες ὡς οἷόν τε, καὶ πρὸς τὴν μητέρα Κυρήνην, ὧν τὴν μὲν ἔχοντες ἀπελίπομεν, τὴν δὲ εὑρεῖν οὐ δυνάμεθα, ἰδόντες τε καὶ παθόντες ἃ μηδὲ ὄναρ ἠλπίσαμεν. ἄκουε γάρ, ἵνα μηδὲ σὺ πάνυ χαίρειν σχολάζῃς καὶ πρῶτόν γ' ὅπως ἡμῖν εἶχε τὰ τοῦ πληρώματος. ὁ μὲν ναύκληρος ἐθανάτα κατάχρεως ὤν· ναυτῶν δὲ ὄντων δυοκαίδεκα τῶν πάντων (τρισκαιδέκατος γὰρ ὁ κυβερνήτης ἦν) ὑπὲρ ἥμισυ μὲν καὶ ὁ κυβερνήτης ἦσαν Ἰουδαῖοι, γένος ἔκσπονδον καὶ εὐσεβεῖν ἀναπεπεισμένον ἢν ὅτι πλείστους ἄνδρας Ἕλληνας ἀποθανεῖν αἴτιοι γένωνται· τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν ἀγελαῖοι γεωργοί, πέρυσιν οὔπω κώπης ἡμμένοι· κοινῇ δὲ οὗτοί τε κἀκεῖνοι πεπηρωμένοι πάντως ἕν γέ τι μέρος τοῦ σώματος. τοιγαροῦν ἕως οὐδὲν ἡμῖν δεινὸν ἦν, ἐκομψεύοντο καὶ ἐκάλουν ἀλλήλους οὐκ ἀπὸ τῶν ὀνομάτων, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ τῶν ἀτυχημάτων, ὁ χωλός, ὁ κηλήτης, ὁ ἀριστερόχειρ, ὁ παραβλώψ· ἕκαστος ἕν γέ τι εἶχε τοὐπίσημον, καὶ ἡμῖν τὸ τοιοῦτον οὐ μετρίαν παρεῖχε τὴν διατριβήν. ἐν τῇ χρείᾳ δὲ οὐκέτι γέλως ἦν, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τούτοις αὐτοῖς ἀποιμώζομεν, ὄντες ἐπιβάται πλεῖν ἢ πεντήκοντα, τριτημόριά που μάλιστα γυναῖκες, αἱ πλείους νέαι καὶ ἀγαθαὶ τὰς ὄψεις. ἀλλὰ μὴ φθόνει, παραπέτασμα γὰρ ἡμᾶς ἀπετείχιζε, καὶ τοῦτο ἐρρωμενέστατον, οὐ πάλαι διερρωγότος ἱστίου τεμάχιον, σωφρονοῦσιν ἀνθρώποις τὸ τεῖχος τὸ Σεμιράμιδος. ἴσως δὲ κἂν ὁ Πρίαπος ἐσωφρόνησεν Ἀμαράντῳ συμπλέων· ὡς οὐκ ἔστιν ὁπότε ἡμᾶς σχολάζειν εἴασεν ἀπὸ τοῦ δεδιέναι τὸν ἔσχατον κίνδυνον, ὅστις πρῶτον

5 *κακὸς*] *πονηρὸς* A Av CUL 17 *πάντων*] *παρόντων* A 23 *ἕως* Av *ὡς* cett. / *πάντες ἐκομψεύοντο* U 29 *τριτημόριόν* y *τριτημορία* cett. Garzya

μὲν ἐπειδὴ τὸν παρ' ὑμῖν τοῦ Ποσειδῶνος νεὼν κατεκάμψαμεν, ἄρας ὅλοις ἱστίοις ἠξίου πλεῖν εὐθὺ Ταφοσίριδος, καὶ ἀπεπειρᾶτο τῆς Σκύλλης, ἣν ἐν τοῖς γραμματείοις ἀποτροπιαζόμεθα. συννενοηκότων δὲ ἡμῶν καὶ ἀνακεκραγότων οὐ πρὶν ἢ ἐν χρῷ γενέσθαι τοῦ κινδύνου, μόλις ἐκβιασθεὶς ἀπέστη τοῦ διαναυμαχῆσαι πρὸς τὰς σπιλάδας. ἐντεῦθεν ἀποστρέψας τὴν ναῦν ὥσπερ ἐκ μετανοίας ἐπαφίησι τῷ πελάγει, τέως μὲν ὡς ἐδύνατο καὶ πρὸς κῦμα παραβαλλόμενος, ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ νότος συνεπιλαμβάνει λαμπρός, ὑφ' οὗ ταχὺ μὲν τὴν γῆν ἀπεκρύπτομεν, ταχὺ δὲ μετὰ τῶν ὁλκάδων ἦμεν τῶν διαρμενίων, αἷς οὐδὲν ἔδει Λιβύης τῆς καθ' ἡμᾶς, ἀλλὰ πλοῦν ἕτερον ἔπλεον. σχετλιαζόντων δὲ ἡμῶν καὶ ἐν δεινῷ ποιουμένων τὸ ἀπηρτῆσθαι τοσοῦτον τῆς γῆς, ὁ Ἰαπετὸς Ἀμάραντος ἐπὶ τῶν ἰκρίων ἑστὼς ἐτραγῴδει τὰς παλαμναιοτάτας ἀράς. «οὐ γὰρ δὴ πτησόμεθα» ἔφη· «ὑμῖν δὲ πῶς ἄν τις καὶ χρήσαιτο, οἳ καὶ τὴν γῆν καὶ τὴν θάλατταν ὑποπτεύετε;» «οὐκ, ἤν γέ τις αὐταῖς χρῷτο καλῶς, ὦ λῷστε Ἀμάραντε» πρὸς αὐτὸν ἔφην. «ἡμῖν δὲ οὐδὲν Ταφοσίριδος ἔδει· ζῆν γὰρ ἔδει. καὶ νῦν τοῦ πελάγους τί δεῖ; ἀλλὰ πλέωμεν» ἔφην «εὐθὺ Πενταπόλεως, ἀπέχοντες τῆς γῆς ὅσον μέτριον, ἵν' εἴ τι καὶ χαλεπόν, οἷα δὴ τὰ τῆς θαλάττης (ἄδηλον δὲ δήπου καὶ ἔστι καὶ παρ' ὑμῖν λέγεται), λιμήν τις ἡμᾶς ἐκ τοῦ σχεδὸν ὑποδέξοιτο». οὕκουν ἔπειθον λέγων, ἀλλ' ἐξεκεκώφητο τὸ κάθαρμα, ἕως ἄνεμος ἀπαρκτίας ἐπαράσσει πολύς, κῦμα ἐλαύνων ὑψηλὸν καὶ τραχύ. οὗτος ἄφνω προσπεσὼν τὸ ἱστίον ἔμπαλιν ὤθησε καὶ τὰ κυρτὰ κοῖλα πεποίηκεν, ἡ δὲ ναῦς ἐγγὺς ἦλθεν, ἐπὶ πρύμναν ἀνατετράφθαι. μόλις δ' οὖν αὐτὴν κατεστήσαμεν, καὶ ὁ βαρύστονος Ἀμάραντος «τοιοῦτον» ἔφη «τὸ ναυτίλλεσθαι τέχνῃ», προσδέχεσθαι γὰρ αὐτὸς πάλαι τὸν ἐκ πελάγους ἄνεμον, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο μετέωρος πλεῖν. κατιέναι γὰρ νῦν ἐγκάρσιος, ἐνδιδόντος τοῦ διαστήματος, προστιθέναι τῷ μήκει. τοῦτον δὲ εἶναι τὸν πλοῦν τὸν ἡμέτερον οὐκ ἂν εἴ γε παρὰ τὰς ἀκτὰς ἐπλέομεν· προσαναπεπλάσθαι ⟨προσαναπεπλῆσθαι?⟩ γὰρ ἂν τῇ γῇ. καὶ ἡμεῖς ἀπεδεχόμεθα λέγοντος ἕως ἡμέρα τε ἦν καὶ τὰ δεῖνα οὔπω παρῆν· ἤρξατο γὰρ δὴ μετὰ τῆς νυκτός, ἀεὶ προϊόντος ἐπὶ μεῖζον τοῦ κλύδωνος. ἡμέρα μὲν οὖν ἦν ἥντινα ἄγουσιν οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι παρασκευήν· τὴν δὲ νύκτα τῇ μετ' αὐτὴν ἡμέρᾳ λογίζονται, καθ' ἣν οὐδενὶ θέμις ἐστὶν ἐνεργὸν ἔχειν τὴν χεῖρα, ἀλλὰ τιμῶντες διαφερόντως αὐτὴν ἄγουσιν ἀπραξίαν. μεθῆκεν οὖν ἐκ χειρῶν ὁ κυβερνήτης τὸ πηδάλιον,

55 ἐξεκεκώφητο Dindorf ἐξεκώφει ACUVVay
ἐκεκώφει Av ἐξεκεκώφει Garzya
60 ναυτίλλεσθαι τέχνῃ A τέχνῃ ναυτίλλεσθαι cett. Garzya
62 τοιοῦτον Av Va 64 προσαναπεπλῆσθαι Lampe 66 μὲν γὰρ U

ἐπειδὴ τὸν ἥλιον εἴκασεν ἀπολελοιπέναι τὴν γῆν, καὶ καταβαλὼν ἑαυτὸν ⟨Sophocles, *Ajax*, l. 1146⟩ «πατεῖν παρεῖχε τῷ θέλοντι ναυτίλων». ἡμεῖς δὲ τὴν μὲν οὖσαν αἰτίαν οὐκ εὐθὺς ἐπὶ νοῦν ἐβαλόμεθα, ἀπόγνωσιν δὲ τὸ πρᾶγμα οἰόμενοι προσῄειμεν, ἐλιπαροῦμεν μὴ καταπροέσθαι μηδέπω τὰς ἐσχάτας ἐλπίδας· καὶ γὰρ δὴ καὶ ἐπεῖχον αἱ τρικυμίαι, τοῦ πελάγους καὶ πρὸς ἑαυτὸ στασιάσαντος. γίνεται δὲ τὸ τοιοῦτον ὅταν μὴ τῷ λήξαντι πνεύματι καὶ τὰ παρ' αὐτοῦ συναναπαύσηται κύματα, ἀλλ' ἰσχῦον ἔχοντα τὸ ἐνδόσιμον τῆς κινήσεως ὑπαντιάζῃ τῇ τοῦ πνεύματος ἐπικρατείᾳ, καὶ ἀντεμβάλλῃ ταῖς ἐμβολαῖς. ἔδει γάρ μοι καὶ φλεγμαινόντων ὀνομάτων, ἵνα μὴ τὰ μεγάλα κακὰ μικροπρεπέστερον διηγήσωμαι. τοῖς οὖν ἐν τῷ τοιῷδε πλέουσιν ἀπὸ λεπτοῦ φασὶ μίτου τὸ ζῆν ἠρτῆσθαι. εἰ δὲ καὶ ὁ κυβερνήτης νομοδιδάσκαλος εἴη, τίνα δεῖ ψυχὴν ἔχειν; ἐπεὶ δ' οὖν συνήκαμεν τὸν νοῦν τῆς ἀπολείψεως τῶν πηδαλίων (δεομένων γὰρ ἡμῶν σῴζειν τὴν ναῦν ἐκ τῶν ἐνόντων τὸ βιβλίον ἐπανεγίνωσκε), πειθοῦς ἀπογνόντες ἀνάγκην ἤδη προσήγομεν. καί τις στρατιώτης γεννάδας (συμπλέουσι δὲ ἡμῖν Ἀράβιοι συχνοὶ τῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ τάγματος τῶν ἱππέων) τὸ ξίφος σπασάμενος ἠπείλησε τἀνθρώπῳ τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀποκόψειν, εἰ μὴ ἀντιλήψοιτο τοῦ σκάφους, ὁ δὲ αὐτόχρημα Μακκαβαῖος οἷος ἦν ἐγκαρτερῆσαι τῷ δόγματι. μεσούσης δὲ ἤδη τῆς νυκτὸς ἀναπείθεται παρ' ἑαυτοῦ πρὸς τῇ καθέδρᾳ γενέσθαι. «νῦν γάρ» φησίν «ὁ νόμος ἐφίησιν, ἐπειδὴ νῦν σαφῶς τὸν ὑπὲρ τῆς ψυχῆς θέομεν.» πρὸς τοῦτο αἴρεται θόρυβος ἐξ ἀρχῆς, ἀνδρῶν οἰμωγή, γυναικῶν ὀλολυγή· ἅπαντες ἐθεοκλύτουν ἐποτνιῶντο, τῶν φιλτάτων ὑπεμιμνήσκοντο. μόνος Ἀμάραντος εὔθυμος ἦν, ὡς αὐτίκα ἂν περιγράψων τοὺς δανειστάς. ἐμὲ δὲ ἐν τοῖς δεινοῖς (ὄμνυμί σοι θεὸν ὃν φιλοσοφία πρεσβεύει) τὸ Ὁμηρικὸν ἔθραττεν ἐκεῖνο, μὴ ἄρα ἀληθὲς εἴη τὸν καθ' ὕδατος θάνατον ὄλεθρον εἶναι καὶ αὐτῆς τῆς ψυχῆς. λέγει γὰρ ἔστιν ὅπου τῶν ἐπῶν ⟨*Odyssea*, IV, l. 511⟩ «Αἴας δ' ἐξαπόλωλεν, ἐπεὶ πίεν ἁλμυρὸν ὕδωρ», τὸν ἐν θαλάττῃ θάνατον ἀκριβεστάτην ἀπώλειαν εἶναι τιθέμενος...

Φθάνει δὲ ἡμέρα, καὶ ὁρῶμεν τὸν ἥλιον ὡς οὐκ οἶδ' εἴ ποτε ἥδιον. τὸ δὲ πνεῦμα ῥᾷον ἐγένετο τῆς ἁλέας ἐπιδιδούσης, καὶ ἡ δρόσος ἐξισταμένη παρεῖχεν ἡμῖν κεχρῆσθαι τοῖς καλωδίοις καὶ τὸ ἱστίον μεταχειρίζεσθαι. ὑπαλλάττειν μὲν οὖν ἱστίον ἕτερον νόθον οὐκ εἴχομεν, ἠνεχυρίαστο γάρ· ἀνελαμβάνομεν δὲ αὐτὸ καθάπερ τῶν χιτώνων τοὺς κόλπους, καὶ πρὶν ὥρας εἶναι τέτταρας, ἀποβαίνομεν οἱ τὸ τεθνάναι προσδοκήσαντες ἐν ἐσχατιᾷ τινὶ πανερήμῳ καὶ οὔτε πόλιν

74 ἐβαλλόμεθα AAvCVVa 89 ἀντιλήψεται ACUL

οὔτε ἀγρὸν ἐχούσῃ γείτονα, σταδίους ἑκατόν που πρὸς τοῖς τριάκοντα
κατόπιν ἀγροῦ. ἡ μὲν οὖν ναῦς ἐσάλευεν ἐπὶ μετεώρου (λιμὴν γὰρ ὁ
τόπος οὐκ ἦν) καὶ ἐσάλευεν ἐπ' ἀγκύρας μιᾶς· ἡ ἑτέρα γὰρ
ἀπημπόλητο, τρίτην δὲ ἄγκυραν Ἀμάραντος οὐκ ἐκτήσατο. ἡμεῖς δὲ
ἐπειδὴ τῆς φιλτάτης ἡψάμεθα γῆς, περιεβάλομεν ὥσπερ ἔμψυχον
οὖσαν μητέρα ... ἐπεὶ δὲ ἄπορον ἦν ὁδῷ χρήσασθαι, μηδενὸς
ἀνθρώπων ὁρωμένου, πάλιν ἐπετολμήσαμεν τῇ θαλάσσῃ ... ἤδη δὲ
ὑποφαινομένης ἡμέρας κατασείει τις ἄνθρωπος χωρικῶς ἐσταλμένος,
καὶ δείκνυσι τῇ χειρὶ τόπους ὑπόπτους καὶ ἑτέρους οὓς ἔδει θαρρῆσαι.
καὶ τέλος ἦκεν ἐπὶ κελητίου δισκάλμου, ὅπερ ἐξάψας τοῦ πλοίου
μεταχειρίζεται τὸ πηδάλιον, ὁ δὲ Σύρος ἄσμενος ἐξέστη τῆς προεδρίας.
ἀναλύσας δὲ σταδίους οὐ πλείους ἢ πεντήκοντα τήν τε ναῦν ἐνορμίζει
λιμενισκίῳ χαρίεντι (Ἀζάριον οἶμαι καλοῦσιν αὐτό), καὶ ἡμᾶς ἐπὶ τῆς
ἠόνος ἀπεβίβασε ...

To his brother

Although we started from Bendideum at early dawn, we had scarcely passed Pharius Myrmex by noonday, for our ship went aground two or three times in the bed of the harbour. This mishap at the very outset seemed a bad omen, and it might have been wiser to desert a vessel which had been unlucky from the very start. But we were ashamed to lay ourselves open to an imputation of cowardice from you and accordingly [*Ilias*, VII, l. 217] "It was no longer granted to us to tremble or to withdraw". So now, if misfortune awaits us, we shall perish through your fault. After all, was it so dreadful that you should be laughing and we out of danger? But of Epimetheus they aver that "His prudence was at fault, his repentance never", and that is precisely our own case, for we might easily have saved ourselves in the first instance; whereas now we are lamenting in concert on desert shores, gazing out towards Alexandria to our hearts' content, and towards our motherland Cyrene; one of these places we wilfully deserted, while the other we are unable to reach — all the time having seen and suffered such things as we never thought to happen even in our dreams. Hear my story then, that you may have no further leisure for your mocking wit, and I will tell you first of all how our crew was made up. Our skipper was fain to die owing to his bankrupt condition; then besides him we had twelve sailors, thirteen in all!

113 *περιβάλλομεν* L 116 *χωριτικῶς* U 118 *τέλος* y *τέλος μόνος* cett. / *ἦκεν* CV *ἦλθεν* cett.

More than half of them, including the skipper, were Jews — a graceless race and fully convinced of the piety of sending to Hades as many Greeks as possible. The remainder were a collection of peasants, who even as late as last year had never gripped an oar, but the one batch and the other were alike in this that every man of them had some personal defect. Accordingly, so long as we were in safety they passed their time in jesting with one another, accosting their comrades, not by their real names, but by the disgusting names of their misfortunes, thus calling out the "Lame", the "Ruptured", the "Lefthanded", the "Goggle-eyed". Each one had his distinguishing mark, and to us this sort of thing was no small source of amusement. The moment we were in danger, however, it was no laughing matter, but rather did we bewail these very defects. We had embarked to the number of more than fifty, about a third of us being women, most of them young and comely. Do not, however, be too quick to envy us, for a screen separated us from them, and a stout one at that, the suspended fragment of a recently torn sail, to virtuous men the very wall of Semiramis. Nay, Priapus himself might well have been temperate had he taken passage with Amarantus, for there was never a moment when this fellow allowed us to be free from fear of the uttermost danger. As soon as he had doubled the temple of Poseidon, near you, he made straight for Taphosiris, with all sails spread, to all seeming bent on confronting Scylla, over whom we were all wont to shudder in our boyhood when doing our school exercises. This manoeuvre we detected only just as the vessel was nearing the reefs, and we all raised so mighty a cry that perforce he gave up his attempt to battle with the rocks. All at once he veered about as though some new idea had possessed him, and turned his vessel's head to the open, struggling as best he might against a contrary sea.

Presently a fresh south wind springs up and carries us along, and soon we are out of sight of land and have come into the track of the double-sailed cargo vessels, whose business does not lie with our Libya; they are sailing in quite another course. Again we make common cause of complaint and our grievance now is that we have been forced too far away from the shore. Then does this Titan of ours, Amarantus, fulminate, standing up on the stern and hurling awful imprecations upon us. "We shall obviously never be able to fly," he said, "how can I help people like you who distrust both the land and the sea?" "Nay," I said, "Not so, worthy Amarantus, in case any one uses them rightly. For our own part we had no yearning for

Taphosiris, for we wanted only to live. Moreover," I continued, "what do we want of the open sea? Let us rather make for Pentapolis, hugging the shore; for then, if indeed we have to face one of those uncertainties which, as you admit, are unfortunately only too frequent on the deep, we shall at least be able to take refuge in some neighbouring harbour." I did not succeed in persuading him by my talk, for to all of it the outcast turned a deaf ear; and what is more, a gale commenced to blow from the north, and the violent wind soon raised seas mountains high. This gust falling suddenly on us, drove our sail back, and made it concave instead of its convex form, and the ship was all but capsized by the stern. With great difficulty, however, we headed her in.

Then Amarantus thunders out, "See what it is to be master of the art of navigation. I had long foreseen this storm, and that is why I sought the open. I can tack in now, since our sea room allows us to add to the length of our tack. But such a course as the one I have taken would not have been possible had we hugged the shore, for in that case the ship would have been dashed on the coast." Well, we were perforce satisfied with his explanation so long as daylight lasted and dangers were not imminent, but these failed not to return with the approach of night, for as the hours passed the seas increased continually in volume. Now it so happened that this was the day on which the Jews make what they term the "preparation", and they reckon the night, together with the day following this, as a time during which it is not lawful to work with one's hands. They keep this day holy and apart from the others, and they pass it in rest from labour of all kinds. Our skipper accordingly let go the rudder from his hands the moment he guessed that the sun's rays had left the earth, and throwing himself prostrate [Sophocles, *Ajax*, 1. 1146] "Allowed to trample on him what sailor so desired". We, who at first could not understand why he was thus lying down, imagined that despair was the cause of it all. We rushed to his assistance and implored him not to give up the last hope yet. Indeed the greatest waves were actually menacing the vessel, and the very deep was at war with itself. Now it frequently happens that when the wind has suddenly relaxed its violence, the billows already set in motion do not immediately subside; they are still under the influence of the wind's force, to which they yield and with which they battle at the same time, and the oncoming waves fight against those subsiding. I have every need of my store of flaming language, so that in recounting such immense dangers I may not fall into the trivial. To

people who are at sea in such a crisis, life may be said to hang by a thread only, for if our skipper proved at such a moment to be an orthodox observer of the Mosaic law, what was life worth in the future? Indeed we soon understood why he had abandoned the helm, for when we begged him to do his best to save the ship, he stolidly continued reading his roll. Despairing of persuasion, we finally attempted force, and one staunch soldier — for many Arabs of the cavalry were of our company — one staunch soldier, I say, drew his sword and threatened to behead the fellow on the spot if he did not resume control of the vessel. But the Maccabean in very deed was determined to persist in his observances. However, in the middle of the night he voluntarily returned to the helm. "For now," he said, "we are clearly in danger of death, and the law commands." On this the tumult sprang up afresh, groaning of men and shrieking of women. All called upon the gods, and cried aloud; all called to mind those that they loved. Amarantus alone was in good spirits, for he thought to himself that now at last he would foil his creditors. For myself, amidst those horrors, I swear to you by the god sacred to philosophy, that the only thing that troubled me was a passage from Homer. I feared that were my body once swallowed up in the waves, the soul itself also might eternally perish, for somewhere in his epic he writes [*Odyssea*, IV, l. 511] "Ajax perished, once he had drunk of the briny wave", bearing witness to the fact that death at sea is the most grievous way of perishing ... But day broke before all this had time to occur, and never, I know, did we behold the sun with greater joy. The wind grew more moderate as the temperature became milder, and thus, as the moisture evaporated, we were able to work the rigging and handle the sails. We were unable, it is true, to replace our sail by a substitute one, for this was already in the hands of the pawnbroker, but we took it in like the swelling folds of a garment; and lo, in four hours' time we, who had imagined ourselves already in the jaws of death, were disembarking in a remote desert place possessing neither town nor farm near it, only an expanse of open country of one hundred and thirty stadia. Our ship was riding in the open sea, for the spot was not a harbour, and it was riding on a single anchor. The second anchor had been sold, and a third Amarantus did not possess. When now we touched the dearly beloved land, we embraced the earth as a real living mother ... When, however, we were unable to discover any way out by land, for we could find no one in the country, we decided to try our fortune again at sea ... Now, when day

appeared, a man in rustic garb signalled and pointed out which were the places of danger, and those that we might approach in safety. Finally, he came out to us in a boat with two oars, and this he made fast to our vessel. Then he took over the helm, and our Syrian gladly relinquished to him the conduct of the ship. So after proceeding not more than fifty stadia, he brought her to anchor in a delightful little harbour the name of which I believe is Azarium, and there disembarked us on the beach... (trans. A. Fitzgerald, Oxford 1926)

XV. *SCHOLIA IN ARISTOPHANEM*

There are two passages of Jewish relevance in the scholia to Aristophanes.[1] *One derives from the scholia to the Acharnians (No. 570a). Here, commenting upon the Thracian tribe of the Odomantes,*[2] *the scholiast states that some say that they are Jews. This connection may have been suggested by what we read somewhat later in the play; cf. l. 158: τίς τῶν 'Οδομάντων τὸ πέος ἀποτεθρίακεν.*[3] *It may be also*

1 The scholia to Aristophanes have a complicated history, and the specific date at which they took shape cannot be maintained with any degree of confidence. One suggestion is that the extant scholia go back to some scholar who lived in the fourth or fifth century C.E., probably in Constantinople, and that he transcribed the text of the plays extant in his time on parchment, supplying in the margins as much of the older Greek comments on Aristophanes as were still available; see J.W. White, *The Scholia on the Aves of Aristophanes*, Boston–London 1914, pp. IX ff.; on the history of the old Greek commentary to Aristophanes as it took shape from the times of the great Alexandrian philologists onwards, see *ibid.* For the history of scholia, see also N.G. Wilson, *CQ*, NS, XVII (1967), pp. 244 ff.; and the summary, pp. 255 f.

2 The Odomantes were a Thracian tribe who lived west of the river Strymon; see Oberhummer, PW, XVII, pp. 1897 f.

3 See already W.G. Rutherford, *Scholia Aristophanica*, II, London 1896, p. 281; W.J.M. Starkie, *The Acharnians of Aristophanes*, London 1909, p. 44. In this connection it is worthwhile quoting a passage from Pseudo-Plutarchus, *De Fluviorum et Montium Nominibus*, 11:1: *Στρυμὼν ποταμός ἐστι τῆς Θρᾴκης κατὰ πόλιν 'Ηδωνίδα· προσηγορεύετο δὲ πρότερον Παλαιστῖνος ἀπὸ Παλαιστίνου τοῦ Ποσειδῶνος. οὗτος γὰρ πρὸς τοὺς ἀστυγείτονας ἔχων πόλεμον καὶ εἰς ἀσθένειαν ἐμπεσὼν τὸν υἱὸν 'Αλιάκμονα στρατηγὸν ἔπεμψεν· ὁ δὲ προπετέστερον μαχόμενος ἀνῃρέθη. περὶ δὲ τῶν συμβεβηκότων ἀκούσας Παλαιστῖνος καὶ λαθὼν τοὺς δορυφόρους διὰ λύπης ὑπερβολὴν ἑαυτὸν ἔρριψεν εἰς ποταμὸν Κόνοζον, ὃς ἀπ' αὐτοῦ Παλαιστῖνος ὠνομάσθη. Στρυμὼν δέ, Ἄρεως παῖς καὶ 'Ηλίκης, ἀκούσας περὶ τῆς 'Ρήσου τελευτῆς καὶ ἀθυμίᾳ συσχεθείς, ἑαυτὸν ἔρριψεν εἰς ποταμὸν Παλαιστῖνον, ὃς ἀπ' αὐτοῦ Στρυμὼν μετωνομάσθη.* However, it seems to be going too far to suggest on the basis of Pseudo-Plutarch that Jews took part with the Phoenicians and the Philistines in the colonization of the parts of Thrace near the river Strymon; cf. F.C. Movers, *Die Phönizier*, Vol. II, Part 2, Berlin 1850, pp. 285 f.

that the old traditional identification between the Thracian deity Sabazius and the Jewish God played some part in the scholiast's comments.[4]

The other passage comes from the scholia to Plutus (No. 570b) and refers to a Jewish custon of putting wreaths above the tables.[5]

570a

Scholia in Acharnenses, 156 — N. G. Wilson, Groningen 1975

'Οδομάντων στρατός: 'Οδόμαντες ἔθνος Θρακικόν· φασὶ δὲ αὐτοὺς 'Ιουδαίους εἶναι.

1 *'Οδόμαντες* RΓ om. cett.

The army of the Odomantes: Odomantes, a Thracian people. It is said that they are Jews.

570b

Scholia in Plutum, 1054 — Dübner

ὥσπερ παλαιὰν εἰρεσιώνην: ... "Αλλως. στεφανώματα καὶ ἕως τῆς σήμερον ἔχουσιν οἱ 'Εβραῖοι ἐπάνω τῶν τραπεζῶν.

Like the old eiresione: ... Another interpretation. Even till this day the Hebrews have wreaths above the tables.

4 Cf. Hermippus, *De Pythagora*, apud: Josephus, *Contra Apionem*, I, 162–165 (No. 25), and the commentary *ad loc.*; F. Wehrli, *Die Schule des Aristoteles*, Suppl. I, Basel 1974, F22, and the commentary, pp. 57 ff.; cf. also the commentary to Valerius Maximus (No. 147b).

5 This is a scholion on *εἰρεσιώνη* (l. 1054): *εἰρεσιώνη* was a harvest wreath referred to in other comedies of Aristophanes (*Equites*, 729; *Vespae*, 399). It consisted of an olive branch wreathed with wool into which various symbols of the harvest and vintage were inserted, such as figs, bread-cakes, honey, oil and wine; see L. Deubner, *Attische Feste*, Berlin 1932, p. 199.

XVI. *SCHOLIA PLATONICA*

The information given in the Scholia Platonica about the Sibyls, and especially the Hebrew Sibyl, on her being a daughter-in-law of Noah and prophesying in the Hebrew language about the building of the Tower of Babylon, bears the mark of the Jewish tradition and goes back to motifs found in Jewish-Hellenistic literature.[1] *More interesting from the historical viewpoint is the statement of the scholiast that the Hebrew Sibyl is also mentioned by the biographer of Alexander the Great, Nicanor.*[2] *While the identity of this Nicanor is not certain, he seems to have lived in the Hellenistic age, and to have antedated Varro (116–27 B.C.E.). However, it seems that Nicanor actually referred not to the Hebrew Sibyl, but to the Persian one; see Lactantius,* Divinae Institutiones, *I, 6:8: "primam [scil. Sibyllam Varro in libris* Rerum Divinarum *ait] fuisse de Persis, cuius mentionem fecit Nicanor, qui res gestas Alexandri Macedonis scripsit."*[3]

1 See also the commentary to Pausanias, X, 12:9 (No. 360).

2 For discussion of Nicanor, see Susemihl, II, p. 395; H. Berve, *Das Alexanderreich auf prosopographischer Grundlage*, II, Munich 1926, p. 276, n. 6; *F. Gr. Hist.*, II, D, p. 532.

3 To state that Lactantius mentions either a Persian or a Jewish Sibyl is inaccurate; cf. the observation of Kroll, PW, XVII, p. 272.

571

In Phaedrum, 244 B — Greene = *F. Gr. Hist.*, II, B 146, F 1

Σίβυλλαι μὲν γεγόνασι δέκα, ὧν πρώτῃ ὄνομα Σαμβήθη. Χαλδαίαν δέ φασιν αὐτὴν οἱ παλαιοὶ λόγοι, οἱ δὲ μᾶλλον Ἑβραίαν· καὶ δὴ καὶ ἑνὶ τῶν παίδων τοῦ Νῶε εἰς γυναῖκα ἁρμοσθῆναι, καὶ συνεισελθεῖν αὐτῷ τε καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐν τῇ κιβωτῷ. ταύτην καὶ τὰ περὶ τῆς πυργοποιίας χρησμῳδῆσαί φασι, καὶ ὅσα τοῖς τούτων συνέβη τολμήμασι· χρησμῳδῆσαι δὲ πρὸ τῆς διαιρέσεως τῶν γλωσσῶν γεγενημένη⟨ν⟩ γλώσσῃ φασὶ τὰ χρησμῳδηθέντα τῇ Ἑβραΐδι· οὐ μόνον δέ, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ κατὰ τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον τὸν Μακεδόνα προειπεῖν· ἧς καὶ μνήμην Νικάνωρ ὁ τὸν Ἀλεξάνδρου βίον ἀναγράψας πεποίηκεν.

There were ten Sibyls, the first of whom was named Sambethe. The ancient traditions declare her to be a Chaldaean, but some take her rather to be a Hebrew. For she had been given as a wife to one of the sons of Noe and she went together with him and the others into the ark. They say that she also prophesied about the building of the tower and about what happened as a result of the reckless deeds of those people. Since she had been born before the division of the languages she prophesied her prophecies in the Hebrew language. Moreover, she foretold the events of the time of Alexander the Macedonian. Nicanor, who wrote the life of Alexander, also mentioned her.

APPENDIX II

LEGAL WRITERS

I. ULPIANUS

Died 223 C.E.

1

De Officio Proconsulis, apud: *Digesta*, L, 2:3:3

Eis, qui Iudaicam superstitionem sequuntur, divi Severus et Antoninus honores adipisci permiserunt, sed et necessitates eis imposuerunt, qui superstitionem eorum non laederent.

2

De Censibus, apud: *Digesta*, L, 15:1:6

In Palaestina duae fuerunt coloniae, Caesariensis et Aelia Capitolina, sed neutra ius Italicum habet.

Cf. *Digesta* (Paulus) L, 15:8:7: Divus Vespasianus Caesarienses colonos fecit non adiecto, ut et iuris Italici essent, sed tributum his remisit capitis: sed divus Titus etiam solum immune factum interpretatus est.

II. MODESTINUS

First half of the third century C.E.

3

De Excusationibus, apud: *Digesta*, XXVII, 1:15:6

Ἤδη δὲ καὶ οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι τῶν μὴ Ἰουδαίων ἐπιτροπεύσουσιν, ὥσπερ καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ λειτουργήσουσιν· αἱ γὰρ διατάξεις

ἐκείνοις μόνοις ἀνενοχλήτους αὐτοὺς εἶναι κελεύουσιν, δι' ὧν ἡ θρησκεία χραίνεσθαι δοκεῖ.

4

Regulae, apud: *Digesta*, XLVIII, 8:11

Circumcidere Iudaeis filios suos tantum rescripto Divi Pii permittitur.

III. PAULUS

First half of the third century C.E.

5

Sententiae, V, 22:3–4

(3) Cives Romani, qui se Iudaico ritu vel servos suos circumcidi patiuntur, bonis ademptis in insulam perpetuo relegantur; medici capite puniuntur. (4) Iudaei si alienae nationis comparatos servos circumciderint, aut deportantur aut capite puniuntur.

ADDENDA AND CORRIGENDA TO VOLUME II

p. 16, line 8, read: ZPE

p. 17, line 2 from bottom, read: Nipperdey

p. 33, line 8, for: n, read: No.

p. 116, line 18, read: Aricia

p. 138, end, add: For new studies on Philo of Byblus, see J. Ebach, *Weltentstehung und Kulturentwicklung bei Philo von Byblos*, Stuttgart 1979; A. Momigliano, *Annali della Scuola Normale Superiore*, Serie III, X (1980), pp. 1227 ff.; H. W. Attridge & R. A. Oden, Jr., *Philo of Byblos, The Phoenician History*, Washington 1981; A. I. Baumgarten, *The Phoenician History of Philo of Byblos*, Leiden 1981.

p. 153, line 26, add: For the view that Julius Alexander was the same as C. Iulius Berenicianus (*IGRR*, IV, No. 1587) and related to the Herodian dynasty, see H. Halfmann, *Die Senatoren aus dem östlichen Teil des Imperium Romanum bis zum Ende des 2. Jh. n. Chr.*, Göttingen, p. 141. The text of Cassius Dio, LXVIII, 30:2, on Julius Alexander reads as follows: *ἐάλω δὲ καὶ ἡ Σελεύκεια πρός τε Ἐρυκίου Κλάρου καὶ πρὸς Ἰουλίου Ἀλεξάνδρου ὑποστρατήγων, καὶ ἐκαύθη.*

p. 213, line 11 from bottom, add: For the Jannes and Jambres tradition in *Targum* Pseudo-Jonathan and its date, see now L.L. Grabbe, *JBL*, XCVIII (1979), pp. 393 ff.

p. 217, line 5, read: *Cimon*

p. 299, line 17, add: See also in the contemporary Lucianus, *Hermotimus*, 71: *περὶ ὄνου σκιᾶς μάχονται οἱ φιλοσοφοῦντες.*

p. 356, line 20, for: killed, read: enslaved

p. 368, line 21, delete: younger

p. 377, line 2 from bottom, read: *Λυκίαν*

p. 379, line 18, add: On the relations between Titus and Berenice, see P.M. Rogers, *Historia*, XXIX (1980), pp. 86 ff.

p. 383, lines 13 f. from bottom, add: See also Diodorus Siculus, X, 11:2: *ἐκ τῆς Πυθαγορείου φιλοσοφίας ἐναύσματα λαβών* (scil. Epaminondas)

pp. 385 ff., add: For the Jewish revolt under Trajan, see now M. Pucci, *La rivolta ebraica al tempo di Traiano*, Pisa 1981.

p. 405, end, add: For the new studies of the Bar Kokhba Revolt, see P. Schäfer, *Der Bar Kokhba-Aufstand*, Tübingen 1981.

p. 412, line 17, add to the bibliography: P. Mastandrea, *Un neoplatonico latino Cornelio Labeone*, Leiden 1979, pp. 159 ff.

p. 414, add: For the text of Menander of Laodicea (No. 450), see now the edition of D.A. Russell & N.G. Wilson, Oxford 1981, p. 72. For the possibility that the author of the treatise was Genethlius of Petra, see Russell & Wilson, *op. cit.*, p. 226.

p. 430, add: With the oracles quoted by Porphyry, cf. the quotation of pagan oracles by the Tübingen Theosophy; see H. Erbse, *Fragmente griechischer Theosophien*, Hamburg 1941, p. 177, § 44 (= K. Buresch, *Klaros*, Leipzig 1889, p. 108): *Ὅτι πρὸς τὸν ἐρωτήσαντα, εἰ δὶ ἐπιμελείας βίου δύναται γενέσθαι θεοῦ ἐγγύς, εἶπεν ὁ Ἀπόλλων·*

Ἰσόθεον δίζῃ γέρας εὑρέμεν οὔ σοι ἐφικτόν.

Αἰγύπτου τόδε μοῦνος ἔλεν γέρας αἰνετὸς Ἑρμῆς, Ἑβραίων Μωσῆς καὶ Μαζακέων σοφὸς ἀνήρ, ὅν ποτε δὴ χθὼν θρέψεν ἀριγνώτοιο Τυήνης, and on the other hand, Erbse, p. 179, § 52 (= Buresch, *op. cit.*, p. 111): *ὅτι Ἰουδαίοις χρησμὸν περὶ τῆς συντελείας αἰτήσασιν ὁ Ἀπόλλων ἔχρησεν οὕτως. Ὦ μέγ' ἀναιδέες, ὦ κακοφράδμονες ⟨ἄνδρες⟩ ἀλίτροι τίπτε πρὸς ἡμέτερον δόμον ἦλθετε; πῶς δ' ἐμὸν οὖδας ἀνθρώποις φθέγξαιθ', οἷς μὴ βίος ὀρθὸς ὁδεύει, οἳ νόμον ἐκ προγόνων γεννήτορος ἠρνήσαντο;*

p. 501, line 16, add: For the Jewish revolt under Constantius, see now also J. Geiger, *Scripta Classica Israelica*, V (1979–1980), pp. 250 ff.

p. 587, line 16 from bottom, add: There is certainly abundant evidence in the correspondence of Libanius for his Palestinian connections; see *Epistulae*, Nos. 11, 101 f., 153 (Paneas), 159, 166, 170, 315, 317, 334, 354, 390, 454, 532, 563, 595, 597, 686, 693, 754, 756, 773, 789, 901, 934, 969, 989, 1037, 1248, 1253, 1307, 1478. See also *Orationes*, I, 134; XVIII, 291; XXXI, 40; XXXVI, 11; XXXIX, 5; XLII, 41; XLIV, 4; XLV, 30; LIV, 55, 57; LXII, 15, 28. For the special connections with Elusa in the Negev, see *Epistulae*, Nos. 101 f., 166, 170, 315, 334, 532.

p. 608, line 21, add: The presumed letter of Cyril has been published by S.P. Brock, *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London*, XL (1977), pp. 267 ff.

p. 610, line 22, for: Parthians, read: Persians

p. 621, end, add: On the problem of circumcision in Roman law, see now also A.M. Rabello, *Studi in onore di Arnaldo Biscardi*, II, Milan 1982, pp. 187 ff.

p. 625, line 7 from bottom, read: *Quaestiones*

p. 639, line 26: On the Samaritans in Delos, see the new inscription published by P. Bruneau, *BCH*, CVI (1982), pp. 465 ff.

p. 641, line 10 from bottom, delete: the letter in

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החטיבה למדעי־הרוח

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ההדיר וצירף מבואות וביאורים
מנחם שטרן

כרך שלישי

נספחים ומפתחות

ירושלים תשמ״ה